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SIEGES AND CUSTOMS OF WAR AT THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

MUCH of the annals of war is concerned with sieges. Until the French Revolution, which changed the character of war, the number of sieges exceeded the number of battles, as the possession of a hostile fortress was of greater positive value than the results of the average field victory; and the fortress served as a counter of exchange at the peace. Large armies, inferior roads, imperfect means of supply, and unwieldy trains, made decisive battles rare. There was no maneuvering in the modern sense, so strategy and tactics were fettered. The king built his fortresses along the well-defined geographical routes of invasion which were also the historical routes, and citizens of large cities and towns raised walls against an enemy. Fortified cities on the frontier exposed to sudden attack, and those in the interior whose populations were of questionable loyalty, were strengthened by the king with citadels which he garrisoned with royal troops, not local militia. These citadels were equally secure against an attack from without the city and a revolt from within; but the majority of them were built solely with a political end in view. Free cities, as a rule, had no citadels. Municipalities objected strongly to their erection as they gave added strength to the local royal authority.[1]

Fortress commanders were independent of the provincial government and in some European countries the commander of the citadel was

[1] Machiavelli discusses the value of fortresses and citadels in his *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius*, bk. II., ch. XXIV., where he strongly opposes their erection. In *The Prince*, ch. XX., he takes a more moderate view. In his *Art of War*, bk. VII., he describes how they should be defended. We do not take very seriously Machiavelli's views on things military; but here he is speaking as a politician. Napoleon said of Machiavelli's writings on military subjects: "Machiavel a écrit sur la guerre comme un aveugle raisonne des couleurs." A military writer of the early eighteenth century devotes a chapter to the various artifices the king might practice to raise a citadel where the inhabitants objected, and he quotes many interesting examples of their application (Vizconde de Puerto, *Reflexiones militares*, Turin, 1724, vol. III., ch. XXXV.).

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independent of the fortress commander, even though the walls of the fortress surrounded the citadel. This division of authority assured the king to some extent against disloyalty and treason and made it impossible for the terms of capitulation of the fortress to include the citadel, but this system resulted frequently in a clash of authority.[2] The Chevalier de Ville, writing on the duties of a fortress commander, recommended to his king never to select a powerful noble as the commander of a stronghold, but to confine his choice to the lesser nobility who were without dangerous pretensions. He said that in many countries a fortress and its citadel had separate commanders, while in France the king's confidence in his officers was such that these commands were frequently united.[3]

When the commander (military governor) of a fortress was appointed he was given definite written instructions by the king, signed with the royal hand and seal, clearly defining the nature of the defense required in the event of a siege. If the commander surrendered prematurely, he was brought to trial before a military tribunal; and in such cases the penalties were mandatory. The instructions of Louis XIII. to his fortress commanders forbade them to surrender until the hostile artillery had made a wide breach in the main walls and the defense had repulsed several assaults. Louis XIV., on April 16, 1705, issued revised instructions which remained in force until 1792. These were quite similar to the preceding but required the commander to repulse only one assault on the body of the place after a breach had been made. It is surprising that this modification took place during the War of the Spanish Succession when France was everywhere on the defensive and many of her northern fortresses were besieged by the Allies.[4]

[2] In Irving's *Alhambra* there is an amusing tale called "The Governor and the Notary" based on the petty quarrels between the military governor of the fortress of the Alhambra, who had independent jurisdiction, and the captain general of the province of Granada.

[3] Anthoine de Ville, *De la charge des gouverneurs des places* (Paris, 1639), pp. 2, 8. In J. Marchand, *Un intendant sous Louis XIV.* (Paris, 1889), bk. III., will be found enumerated the duties of provincial governors, military commanders, and other officials during the period treated.

[4] In Carnot, De la défense des places fortes, in *Bibliothèque historique et militaire*, Ch. Liskenne and Sauvan, eds. (Paris, 1844), we may compare the instructions to military commanders of fortresses given by Louis XIII., Louis XIV., and Napoleon. Here are the records of many trials of commanders who surrendered prematurely. Louis XIV. was much milder in his instructions than the others. He was to a marked degree solicitous of the welfare of his city fortresses and was accustomed to instruct their commanders to accept honorable terms rather than wait for the assault. Such action, under the rules of war, saved the place from sack. This policy was continued even when the Allies during the War of the Spanish Succession were dangerously near Paris. The humane and

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Civilians, under the customs of war, were not permitted to defend a town against a "royal army". In such an event the army commander was expected to summon the place once and if it did not immediately surrender to batter its walls, take the place by assault, give no quarter, permit looting, and put the leaders to death. A royal army was one provided with a siege train.[5]

There was a rule of war generally accepted but seldom enforced that when a small garrison defended itself behind fortress walls with no hope of success against a large army with siege guns, the commander could be put to death. Vattel, writing as late as 1758, found it necessary to say:

> How could it be conceived in an enlightened age that it is lawful to punish with death a governor who had defended his town to the last extremity, or who in a weak place had the courage to hold out against a royal army? In the last century this notion still prevailed and was looked upon as one of the laws of war, and is not even at present totally exploded.[6]

When artillery made a breach in fortress walls practicable for an assaulting party to enter, and when the third parallel of the attack had been completed bringing the attacking infantry within a hundred yards of the breach, the fortress commander was frequently summoned with the threat that if he did not surrender before the assault took place no quarter would be granted the garrison, the town would be thrown open to looting, and he would be put to death. Vattel recognized this custom. He said that the commander of a fortress who held out needlessly when honorable terms were offered and nothing could be gained by prolonging the defense, should be "treated with the severity of the law of war, but his life could not be taken". Vattel, in his next paragraph, assumes a case where further defense would be fruitless, where it

enlightened policy of Louis XIV. can be studied best in *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France publiés par ordre du Roi: Mémoires militaires relatifs à la succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV.* (Paris, 1834–1841). These valuable documents were collected between 1763 and 1788 by De Vault who was in charge of the *Dépôt de la guerre* and they were published later under the direction of General Pelet. The eleven volumes consist chiefly of the correspondence between Louis XIV., his ministers, and generals. They contain strategic studies of possible theaters of operations, reports, journals, capitulations, and much other material not found elsewhere. After reading them we see that Louis XIV. was intimately informed on military matters and was a thoroughly civilized monarch with, for the times, liberal views. De Vault began his military career in 1733, and it was he who conducted the French military correspondence during the American Revolution.

[5] Allain Manesson Mallet, *Les travaux de Mars* (Amsterdam, 1696), III. 198. There were many editions of this work one of which was published in Paris in 1672.

[6] *The Law of Nations*, bk. III., ch. VIII.

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would be obstinacy rather than valor. Here, he says, the commander should be made acquainted with the situation, summoned, threatened with death, "and should this make no impression on him he deserves to suffer the punishment".[7]

It was to the king's interest that his fortified places resist as long as possible, as a prolonged defense weakened the hostile army and gave time for the arrival of succor; but it appears that certain places obtained a dispensation. Milan was privileged to open its gates to a hostile army with siege artillery—a royal army—that crossed the Adda or the Tessin River, provided no succoring force was near.[8]

In 1704 the Duke of Vendôme besieged the fortress of Verrua;[9] and here another custom of war was illustrated. The siege had continued for a long period and the besieged were suffering from hostile fire and the effects of the weather. On the morning of April 6, the fortress commander beat a parley, demanding an honorable capitulation; but the duke, who was of the opinion that the defense had held out unneces-

[7] *Ibid.* It was a law of war that if a place refused to surrender when a practicable breach had been made in the body of the works, when there remained no hope of succor, and the attack was compelled to have recourse to the assault, the garrison was granted no quarter, the place was open to sack, and the commander hanged. Montecuculi said in his memoirs (1665) that under these conditions the loot belonged to the soldier. As late as 1769 Turpin de Crissé in his *Commentaires sur les Mémoires de Montecuculi* (Paris, 1769), II. 272, after quoting Montecuculi, discusses this subject at length. He says that if the place capitulates before the assault, the soldier is not entitled to sack and can expect only a gratification from his general raised by forced contributions on the town and surrounding country. If, however, the place is taken by assault, it is customary to abandon it to the soldiers for twenty-four hours, making provision to protect the life and honor of the inhabitants; but their effects are pillaged: "Such is, in this case, the right of the soldier, authorized by usage." Count Turpin de Crissé is a reliable authority. He was born in France in 1715 and died a lieutenant general in 1792. He served in the Low Countries under Saxe. His work on *L'art de la guerre* was translated into English, praised by General Forbes during his American campaign, and afterwards studied and recommended by General Washington. See *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, XI. 85. The Duke of Wellington took Badajos by assault in 1812. For two days and nights the city was sacked. There is a graphic description of this horrible event in Sir W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula* (5 vols., London, 1856), vol. IV., bk. XVI. The ancient Greeks and Romans drew a clear distinction between a place that capitulated and one that was taken by assault. Coleman Phillipson, *The International Law and Customs of Ancient Greece and Rome* (London, 1911), II. 239–241.

[8] *Collection de documents inédits, op. cit.*, I. 330. Here it is stated that this dispensation existed in 1701. P. Massuet, *Histoire de la guerre presente* (Amsterdam, 1735), p. 48, says this dispensation was an ancient one.

[9] The town and fortress of Verrua no longer exist. They were on the Po River a few miles below Turin where the fortress dominated the river valley and derived its importance from the fact that it commanded a bridge and controlled the water transportation upstream to Turin.

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sarily long, replied that he would receive the garrison only as prisoners of war. The fortress commander then opened a heavy fire with his batteries, regardless of the effect. On the eighth he again demanded terms; but now he was told that the garrison would be received at discretion with no terms granted. The defense then blew up their mines, destroyed a part of the fortress walls, and retired into the citadel. On the ninth they surrendered at discretion. Vendôme said that such conduct was a violation of the customs of war, as the garrison had destroyed their works and wasted their ammunition at a time when they were reduced to the last extremity and with no hope of thereby prolonging the siege. Such conduct, he said, authorized him to put the fortress commander to death. He reported the incident to Louis XIV. and asked for instructions; but the threat was not carried out.[10] This suggests another custom of war mentioned by an excellent authority of the time. When a fortress surrendered it was expected to have in store at least two days' supplies of rations and ammunition. The reason for this was that at the close of a siege the defense was usually destitute of all means of sustenance and frequently the civil population of the fortress or city was without necessities. The attacking force was not in a position to furnish additional supplies.[11]

A siege was an affair of artillery, assisted by infantry. The besieging guns opened fire initially from the first parallel, which was a trench constructed about six hundred yards from the hostile works, parallel to the front attacked. Then approach trenches were constructed from this parallel to within four hundred yards of the fortress, where the second parallel was built. Other approach trenches carried the attack to within one or two hundred yards of the hostile works, where the third parallel was built; and here were raised the breaching batteries of the heaviest guns.[12] The artillery was a separate and distinct corps with its own discipline and justice, under a single chief called in France the grand master of artillery. He was a grand officer of state and exer-

[10] *Collection de documents inédits, op. cit.*, IV. 305. This incident is mentioned in John Campbell, *Military History of the late Prince Eugene of Savoy and of the late John Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1736), I. 345. These two volumes in folio contain many original documents and excellent maps, also engravings of battles and sieges published by act of Parliament.

[11] The Marquis de Quincy, *L'art de la guerre* (The Hague, 1724), p. 451. Quincy was a lieutenant general of artillery under Louis XIV. and wrote this work at the suggestion of the king. He was also the author of the most complete account of the wars of Louis XIV., *Histoire militaire du regne de Louis le Grand* (Paris, 1726, 7 vols., with maps).

[12] For a description in detail of the process of a siege in the eighteenth century, see *William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag.*, XII. 229–249.

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cised complete control of the corps under the general direction of the king. At a siege, the local commander of the artillery estimated the number of guns necessary and placed them in battery on sites appropriate to their use in destroying the artillery and works of the defense. It was then that there appeared one of the important perquisites of the grand master, for the king paid three hundred *livres* for each cannon firing from the parallels. In front of the main works of the fortress were outworks classified as ravelins, counterguards, and face covers. These were under the immediate fire of the fortress, so for every piece of the attacking artillery mounted in these works—after the infantry had taken them—the king paid five hundred *livres*. In addition, ten *livres* were paid for each period of twenty-four hours that a cannon remained in active service. For each mortar placed in battery, two hundred *livres* were paid, and in addition sixteen *livres* for each day's service. This bounty was a perquisite of the grand master; but actually the sum was divided into three parts, one retained by the grand master, another paid to the artillery officers present who actually fired a piece of ordnance with their own hand, and the remainder given to the artillerymen.[13] Infantry officers present were amazed at the formidable array of ancient ordnance that the grand master produced at a siege—pieces that had been dragged for miles on routes all but impossible. Cannon appeared that were said to have seen service when gunpowder was invented; and although these venerable pieces frowned menacingly at the fortress, no one was observed firing them. The grand master was openly accused of robbing the museum in Paris.[14] Also it was generally remarked that decrepit artillery officers, enfeebled by age and wounds, were always so inspired with zeal that they never failed to touch a linstock to the vent.

When at a siege the attack completed the first parallel the chronology of "days of open trenches" began. This event, the opening of the trenches, was accompanied by a ceremony handed down through many centuries and is found described by a Spanish soldier and writer.[15] The most important requirement was that on the opening of the trenches of the first parallel the troops march in with their drums beating and their flags

[13] The Marquis de Quincy, *op. cit.*, pp. 227–228.

[14] This was a stock joke found in the memoirs of infantry and cavalry officers serving at sieges. Quincy, who was of the artillery, devotes several pages in his *L'art de la guerre*, pp. 212 ff., to denying such slanderous insinuations.

[15] *Reflexiones militares*, VII. 310. This work in eleven volumes appeared between 1724 and 1730. It was widely translated and is perhaps the most complete work on the art of war ever written. The writer is frequently referred to by another of his titles, Marqués de Santa Cruz. See Miguel Carrasco-Labadia, *El Marqués de Santa Cruz de Marcenado* (Madrid, 1889).

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flying. Reaching their posts in the parallel, they plant their colors in the parapet as a challenge to the enemy. This formality was mandatory and could not be dispensed with. In 1706 the Duke of Orleans with a large French army began the siege of Turin. Prince Eugene of Savoy with an Imperial army was approaching by rapid marches to succor the place, and the eyes of Europe turned toward Italy. When the French completed the first parallel they delayed three full days before planting their flags, a fact observed at once by the besieged and entered in their journal. This neglect was attributed to a desire to reduce by three the days of open trenches, to the glory of the French arms.[16]

This custom reached America. When the first parallel before Yorktown was completed in 1781, Lafayette with his light infantry division was designated to open the American sector. They marched with ceremony—the men at "carry musket", drums beating, colors flying. Reaching their posts, the troops planted their colors on the parapet. All of this was in strict accord with European practice, but it by no means satisfied the Americans. Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton directed his light infantry battalion to mount the very top of the parapet. Here, in full view of the enemy, to the profound astonishment of British and German grenadiers, they executed at Hamilton's command the manual of arms as found in Steuben's *Regulations*. The British gunners were so astonished at this remarkable sight they actually ceased firing.[17]

We have now arrived at one of the most curious and interesting of the old customs of war. When a fortress, castle, or fortified town was taken by siege, provided that at least one cannon shot was fired by the attack, the grand master of artillery, as a perquisite of his office, was entitled to all bells found in the municipal buildings, churches, convents, monasteries, and other religious establishments; to all objects of steel, iron, copper, tin, pewter, bronze, and lead, including the metal gratings

[16] Campbell, I. 207. The journal of the siege is given here.

[17] This act of bravado of young Hamilton caused several disquieting moments for at least one captain of light infantry; see *William and Mary College Quar: Hist. Mag.*, XII. 99–100; also *ibid.*, pp. 229–249, Notes on the Siege of Yorktown in 1781 with Special Reference to the Conduct of a Siege in the Eighteenth Century. Humphrey Bland in *A Treatise of Military Discipline* (London, 1762), p. 321, says that formerly it was the constant practice at a siege for the trenches to be opened with the ceremony described, but that during the War of the Spanish Succession this custom was discontinued by the British owing to the losses it brought about from the hostile artillery. He says that the French continue to follow this custom. When Condé besieged Lérida in Spain in 1647, his troops marched into the trenches to open the siege to the music of violins. Count Grammont, *Memoirs of the Court of Charles II.* (London, 1891), p. 152. Condé was criticized for playing violins in the trenches but is defended by Voltaire, who says that this was the custom in Spain (*Age of Louis XIV.*, ch. III.).

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on windows, gutters, fences, and rain pipes. There was also included even the metal kitchen utensils in every home. It appears that originally this claim was limited to pieces of ordnance:

> When a town is taken by assault, it is given over for a stated number of days or hours to sack by the infantry. If it be Christian, the churches must be guarded from sack. All artillery in the town remaining mounted pertain to the king; pieces dismounted to the General of Artillery; broken pieces to the gunners.[18]

Probably it was during the seventeenth century that this perquisite was extended to include all bells; and at a later date other metals were claimed. A manuscript of the seventeenth century says that when a fortress, castle, church, or town is taken by assault or by "subtile practice", the best bell in the place belonged to the grand master of ordnance.[19]

The strength of this prerogative of the French grand master of artillery was strikingly shown at the siege of Barcelona in 1697. When the Spanish garrison surrendered the city to the French army commanded by the Duke of Vendôme, the duke approved an article in the capitulation in which he agreed to use his good offices to reduce to a minimum the amount claimed by the artillery; and he further agreed that no ransom would be required for metal. After the besieging army took possession of the city the French artillery commander demanded the sum of ten thousand *doubles*. This sum was exorbitant, and the city council protested that it was in excess of all precedent. They pointed out that on a previous occasion they had been assessed by the artillery

[18] Don Bernardino de Mendoza, *Theorique and Practise of Warre* (London, 1595), translated by Sr. Edwarde Hoby. Mendoza served as a cavalry officer in the Low Countries under Alva, was a member of the war council, and held several important diplomatic posts (D. José Almirante, *Bibliografía Militar de España*).

[19] Francis Grose, *Military Antiquities* (London, 1812), p. 202. In Mallet, III. 313, is a statement that after a successful siege the artillery are allowed to take one bell for each parish. A Spanish writer of the eighteenth century says: "Artillery officers at a siege who fired at least one shot claim all the church bells and all the bronze and copper found in the city taken by siege. I do not know the principle or reason for this practice, and I look with much repugnance on such a claim made for bells that serve in the temples. When this claim is made there should be included in the terms of capitulation a provision for its settlement by the payment of a sum of money". *Reflexiones militares*, VII. 551. See also Alfred Rambaud, *Histoire de la civilisation française* (Paris, 1902), II. 207, who says that when a city permitted the hostile artillery to open its fire before a capitulation, all objects of iron or copper (except artillery), including the bells and household utensils of metal, belonged to the grand master of artillery. He could sell them for his own profit unless the city paid ransom. For detailed accounts of the method used to enforce this perquisite of the artillery, see Irénée Lamière, *Les occupations militaires en Espagne pendant les guerres de l'ancien droit* (Paris, 1905), and, by the same author, *Les occupations militaires en Italie pendant les guerres de Louis XIV*. (Paris, 1903).

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only "a la somme de mile reaux de huit, tarif que a des precedents". This, they said, had been demanded at a time when their property had not been destroyed, when no capitulation had been granted, and no mediation had been promised. The ecclesiastical authorities petitioned Vendôme, begging him to intervene between themselves and the artillery; and they closed this petition saying that they were so sure he would exercise his good offices in their behalf that they had already engaged themselves to recommend his person to God. The reply of the artillery was brief but decidedly to the point. The sum demanded was not for the bells only but for all founded metals and all objects fabricated from them; and if the sum demanded appeared somewhat excessive it was because it included a ransom for all silver and gold. Church and city rose in protest. Precious metals, they said, could under no circumstances be claimed by the artillery. There followed a heated discussion, but with no result. The church then decided to fight her claim alone and demanded that two persons be designated, "men of science and conscience", to determine her exact share of the ransom. Then she apparently placed her cause in the hands of lawyers as Vendôme was deluged with such questions as, what portion of the ransom was for bells that sounded the quarter hours, what for those that rang the half hours, and for those that sounded the hours. The Duke of Vendôme was a mighty warrior in the field, but now he found himself distinctly out of his element. His solution was simple. He fled from the city and took refuge in the French camp at Martorell. Regardless of Vendôme's promises, in spite of the arguments and pleadings of city and church, and notwithstanding the subtle logic of the law, the artillery stood firm upon their ancient prerogatives. These could not be lightly flung aside in a capitulation, not even by a Duke of Vendôme.[20] The interminable question of the bells now reached an impasse. City and church continued their protests; the artillery offered no compromise. Vendôme, safe in the midst of the French camp, wrote agreeable letters but evidently he was powerless. Finally the whole question was referred to the highest and only court in a matter involving the prerogatives of the

[20] Louis Joseph de Vendôme was a grandson of a natural child of Henry IV. and Gabrielle d'Estrées and he had been recognized by Louis XIV., who valued his military talents, as a prince of the blood. He was, perhaps, after Villars, the ablest French commander during the closing years of Louis's reign. His titles and offices at the time of the siege of Barcelona, appearing on contemporary documents, were as follows: Duke of Vendôme, of Mercœur, and of Estampes; Prince of Anet and of Martigues; Peer of France; General of the Galleys and Lieutenant General on the Eastern Sea; Governor of Provence; Commander of the King's Three Orders; Lieutenant General of the King in the principalities of Catalonia, Rousillon, and Cerdana.

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artillery—an appeal was taken to the Duke du Maine at Paris, grand master of the artillery of France.[21] At the surrender of Gueldern by the French garrison, December 15, 1703, there was a clause in the capitulation submitted by the besieged that no ransom would be required. The Allied commander neither approved nor disapproved this, it was simply ignored.[22]

The ceremony of the surrender of a fortress was a spectacle of high dramatic interest as there still clung to it the pageantry of ancient days. When the commander was convinced that further defense was no longer practicable, he called together his council, presented the king's instructions, and submitted a state of the defense. After proper consideration, the council took a vote which was made a matter of record, every member signing. If the decision was to open negotiations with the enemy, a drummer mounted the parapet, planted a white flag, and cried in a loud voice that the fortress commander would treat for an honorable surrender.[23] If the general of a besieging force desired to grant a capitula-

[21] Copies of the documents, French and Spanish, on this controversy are found in Lamière, *Espagne*, ch. XXII. The secretary of Vendôme said in a letter to the city of Barcelona after the controversy had been transferred to Paris: "We shall do all in our power to assist in this matter of the bells, but we can do nothing as it is an affair to be determined by the Duke du Maine; try and satisfy him. *Ibid.*, pp. 544–545. Lamière in describing this affair is surprised at the amount of controversy that arose over the question, and when it was referred to Paris he remarks that it shows an excessive centralization that he had not previously noticed. He failed to remember that the perquisite of a grand officer of the kingdom was involved. The Duke du Maine had been appointed grand master of the artillery of France on September 1, 1694. *Journal du marquis de Dangeau*, F. B. Feuillet de Conches, ed. (Paris, 1857), V. 71. I have been unable to ascertain how this matter ended and there appears to be no reference to it in either Dangeau or Sourches. However I find a letter from the Duke du Maine written to Vendôme on September 10, 1697. Here he complains of the delay of M. d'Andigné (probably the commander of the French artillery at Barcelona) in the matter of the bells, and says that if he had taken down the bells sooner the matter would probably have been arranged long before. He then says that the fortress of Gand had paid as ransom twenty-five thousand *écus* and Barcelona surely is able to pay more. He closed by remarking that although his interests were looked after by his own officers (the artillery), he would be glad if Vendôme assisted. *Les grands écrivains de la France: Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, A. de Boislisle, ed., IV. 462.

[22] This proposed clause read: "Il ne sera rien demandé aux églises, couvents, ni aux bourgeois, pour les cloches et ustensiles de cuivre, fer, fonte et autre espèce de métal qui se trouveront chez les bourgeois". *Collection de documents inédits, op. cit.*, III. 788–789. During the War of the Polish Succession, Danzig surrendered after a long siege to Field Marshal Munich. The besiegers then prepared the terms of capitulation which they forced the besieged to sign. One of the paragraphs is remarkable because of the reason it gives for collecting a ransom for the bells. It states that the bells were confiscated "because they had sounded during the siege contrary to the Customs of War". The town was then called upon, in the next paragraph, to pay the Russian army a specified sum as ranson which was to go to the Russian artillery and engineers. Massuet, p. 206.

[23] A fortress commander ran great risks. During the invasion of Lorraine by the

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tion he sent an officer to the fortress gate armed only with a sword, where he was blindfolded and conducted before the fortress commander and his council. First, they asked if the besiegers would grant terms befitting men of honor who had defended themselves with courage and had not violated the customs of war. Assured on this vital point, the garrison commander designated officers to prepare terms, and at the same time hostages were exchanged, officers of high and equal rank. When the terms were completed, they were carried to a designated point beyond the fortress walls and were here considered. All work on the fortifications and trenches ceased. At this critical moment both sides were on the alert; it was a time for strategems. Guards were doubled at the gates as either side would resort to any means that were advantageous. If the garrison were not watchful, there would be a sudden assault from the trenches; if the guards of the trenches relaxed for a moment, the garrison might sally out and spike the hostile cannon. No officers or men were permitted to converse alone with an enemy. When it was necessary to send or receive messengers, they were raised or lowered from the fortress walls in baskets.

The garrison and population of a town guilty of sedition were granted no capitulation; they surrendered at discretion, their property was confiscated, their leaders hanged on the bastion walls. If, through grace, this punishment was mitigated, their method of exit from the town was carefully prescribed. First came the children and women on foot with only such effects as they could carry on their heads. The male inhabitants followed (bourgeois), also on foot, without swords and carrying only cloaks. Then the infantry marched out without muskets, carrying only their swords; but these could not be worn by their side and were carried drawn and under their arms, pointing to the rear.[24]

French the minister of war of Louis XIV., Louvois, wrote to the generals that as the Lorraine fortresses were weak and could expect no reënforcements, they should not defend themselves to the utmost. If they did so, they should be subject to exemplary punishment: "His Majesty is determined that all their cavalry, infantry, militia, and inhabitants who continue a defense of places beyond reason shall be sent to the galleys unless ransomed for one hundred *écus* each". Rambaud, II. 187. This threat was not carried out. On the other hand, the Imperial general, the Count d'Arco was sent before a military tribunal for a premature surrender of the fortress of Breisach in 1703. He was hanged and the second in command was "degraded from arms", his sword broken by the hangman, and he was banished from the Empire for life. Louis Laguille, *Histoire de la province d'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1727), p. 315.

[24] The infantry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries carried swords. Arms carried pointed downward or to the rear were a sign of mourning or humiliation. This description of the exit of the inhabitants from a town is from Mallet, III. 308. On the adjoining page is a woodcut showing this exit from a fortified town. Mallet's work was an authority on military matters about the end of the seventeenth century.

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A garrison that had defended itself with courage, that held out until the hostile artillery battered its walls and formed a breach practicable for the entry of a storming party, or one that defended itself until its ammunitions and supplies were entirely exhausted, was entitled under the customs of war to receive on its exit the honors of war. A military writer of the period says: "The commander of a fortress must risk all before he permits his troops who have demonstrated their courage by a gallant defense to march out from their works without receiving the honors of war; this recognition of valor cannot be denied them".[25]

The recognition given by a besieging army to a garrison that surrendered after defending itself with unusual valor was many times illustrated. The courage of the garrison of Grave in 1674 was such that the besieging commander, the Prince of Orange, granted to the French troops not only everything asked for by Chamilly, the commander, but received them with distinguished honors. When Rheinberg surrendered to the Allies in 1703, the French commander of the place, the Marquis de Grammont, who had held out until all supplies were completely exhausted, was presented with two bronze cannon as a special recognition of gallantry. Marshal Boufflers commanded the fortress of Lille during the well-known siege of 1708 by Marlborough and Prince Eugene. After the walls of the fortress were all but reduced to ruins, the garrison retired into the citadel and continued the defense. When Boufflers was finally forced to capitulate, he was permitted to draw up his own terms; and later Prince Eugene with a large staff paid a visit of courtesy to the marshal in the citadel. He was received with a guard of honor and a salute of cannon. When the garrison marched out, the prince and the marshal together viewed the exit. That evening the marshal dined with the prince.[26]

Fine distinctions were drawn when troops marched from a fortress to receive the honors of war. The terms of the capitulation prescribed

[25] Quincy, pp. 450–454; *cf.* A. Williamson, *Military Memoirs and Maxims of Marshal Turenne* (London, 1744), p. 188. There are numbers of cases where garrisons, refused the honors of war, continued their defense until the fortifications were a mass of ruins. The rule of war calling upon a garrison to surrender before its provisions and munitions were completely exhausted was not consistent with the rule that required the garrison to hold out to the last. Nevertheless, these two contradictory rules existed at one and the same time. This state of affairs was similar to the present status of international law in regard to contraband goods. To-day the great naval powers enlarge the list of contraband while the weaker powers restrict the list. In the eighteenth century strong aggressive powers invading a weaker nation insisted upon such rules as facilitated rapid conquest while the invaded country desired its strong points held as long as possible.

[26] *Journal de Dangeau,* XII. 282–285. *Mémoires du marquis de Sourches,* Gabriel Jules, Comte de Cosnac and Édouard Pontal, eds. (Paris, 1891), XI. 237.

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the details of the exit, even the manner of carrying arms. Certain positions of the sword, musket, and pike were particularly honorable—such as sabers drawn and at "carry" resting on the shoulder and pointing upward, the musket pointing upward, also the pike. Sabers in their scabbards and muskets and pikes at trail were less honorable. To march with drums beating, trumpets sounding, and colors flying was a distinction; flags furled and the drums and trumpets silent was humiliating.

The articles in a capitulation providing for the honors of war read somewhat in this wise:

> The garrison will march out to-morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon through the breach in the King's Bastion, flags flying, drums beating, trumpets sounding, balls in mouth, match lighted on both ends, muskets at carry. Each grenadier may carry one grenade; each soldier with powder and ball for ten discharges. The cavalry will march out mounted with drawn sabers at carry. The garrison may bring with them four bronze cannon with powder and ball for sixteen discharges and with the necessary wagons and draft horses. Ten wagons are permitted to carry the sick and wounded with the necessary draft animals. The garrison commander may bring four covered wagons which under no circumstances will be examined. Six masked men may accompany the troops who will under no circumstances be molested and whose masks will not be removed. The garrison will march under escort to the fortress of—following the shortest usually traveled route; and they will not be required to march more than fifteen miles a day nor less than five miles, and they shall have a day of rest every seven days.

It is interesting to examine some of these terms. The exit was through a breach in the fortress walls which demonstrated that the garrison had defended itself until the hostile artillery had made a practicable breach through which a storming party could enter the work.[27]

The garrison appeared with flags flying, drums beating, and trumpets sounding as a sign that their valor had preserved their honor—their exit was not one of humiliation. The terms ball in mouth and match lighted on both ends originated in the matchlock days. Matchlock men were accustomed to carry several balls in their mouths to facilitate loading the musket. Before an action, several yards of match was cut from the sixteen feet of match that hung from the belt, and this was lighted on both ends as the fire on one end might be extinguished when it fell (attached to the cock) into the pan.[28] Ammunition was carried so that the garrison

[27] Wits, who were of course with the besiegers, entered at times in their memoirs how the garrison on the night before the evacuation worked diligently with the light of dark lanterns, digging away with pick and shovel to make the breach "practicable".

[28] The flintlock came into use about the middle of the seventeenth century; although the matchlock had been entirely superseded in the following century, these old expressions continued in use.

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would not be entirely without means of defense. Covered wagons which would not be examined were to permit the garrison to bring away unseen deserters from the enemy. Were these deserters to march out with the troops they would be instantly recognized and the victorious general would be under the necessity of having them shot or hanged, which he wished to avoid. If the fortress was on the sea or a river, a ship or boat was substituted for covered wagons. Thus, at Yorktown, Cornwallis, under the terms of the capitulation, was permitted to send the sloop of war *Bonetta* to New York, "to sail without examination". She was the means of escape of a number of American deserters and Loyalists, much to the relief of Washington. The cannon brought out were more in the nature of an honor than for practical use. During the seventeenth century it was usual to allow one piece of artillery for each thousand men, but later the number of pieces rarely exceeded six. The clause requiring that the garrison (when they were not taken as prisoners of war) be conducted to the nearest friendly station by the shortest usually traveled route was important. During the War of the Spanish Succession in the year 1707 a garrison of eight hundred English were in the fortified city of Alcira, Spain, and they capitulated to the troops of the Two Crowns; but the capitulation said nothing of their traveling by the shortest used route, though it provided that they should be escorted to Lérida. The Spanish troops were about to attack Lérida, so the English were conducted to their destination by a roundabout route. This march which could have been made in fifteen days required three months. Provision in the capitulation is also made to prevent the troops from being marched so fast that the men would be broken down, or so slow that the time to make the march would be excessive.[29] The masked men who were authorized to march out with the troops appear to have been persons of distinction who did not wish to be in closed wagons with ordinary deserters.[30] As the garrison marched out of the fortress, the

[29] *Reflexiones militares,* vol. I., bk. I., ch. XLI., p. 169.

[30] At the siege of Menin in 1706 the garrison proposed the following in the terms they submitted: "Article 19. Qu'avec la garnison il pourra sortir autant de personnes masquées que M. le comte de Caraman jugera à propos, sans que les alliés puissent les vouloir reconnaître ou les inquiéter sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être. *Collection de documents inédits, op. cit.,* VI. 556. Vattel says of the use of covered wagons at sieges: "It is usual to indulge the evacuating garrison with a certain number of covered wagons in which they save deserters". *Law of Nations,* bk III., ch. VIII. When Louisburg capitulated to Pepperell the French garrison was permitted to bring out covered wagons which were to be inspected by one officer only to see that they contained no warlike stores; and "if there be any persons in the town or garrison which may desire shall not be seen by us, they shall be permitted to go off masked". Usher Parsons, *The Life of Sir William*

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besiegers formed in two long lines facing each other with one flank resting near the point of exit; and between these two lines the garrison slowly defiled. This was to render them honor; but originally, according to the Vizconde de Puerto, it was to enable the victors to recognize and retake their deserters. Unless it was distinctly stated in the capitulation that none of these men could be taken as they passed, the opportunity was used to get recruits. A garrison that had suffered a long siege and were in want of food and clothing, and possibly with confinement and hard labor ahead of them, were excellent recruiting material. Two-thirds of the garrison of Lérida, which surrendered to the French in 1707, joined the besieging army as the march-out took place. At the capitulation of Saint-Venant in 1710, the garrison asked that none of their men be taken, and this was approved, but with the proviso that deserters were excepted, and that those who volunteered to enlist would be permitted to do so.

When the evacuation took place, it was the custom for the drums, fifes, and horns of the garrison to play a march of the enemy as they came out. The origin of this custom is uncertain. Possibly it was a compliment in return for the honors of war; and it demonstrated that the capitulating garrison had not been humiliated to the point where they could not exchange compliments with the victor. A later example, of much interest to Americans, may be mentioned. When General Lincoln surrendered Charleston he asked for terms permitting his men to march out with drums beating and colors flying. The British disapproved this and made the terms read: "The drummers are not to beat a British march, nor the colors to be uncased." These terms in the eyes of the military world were humiliating and were not forgotten by the Americans. When Yorktown surrendered, the British were required to march out "with colors cased, the drums beating a British or German march". Lieutenant Colonel John Laurence had been appointed by Washington as one of the commissioners to draw up the capitulation and he had been with Lincoln's army when it surrendered at Charleston. When the British commissioners pronounced the terms harsh, Laurence said frankly they were in retaliation for the terms of Charleston.[31]

Pepperrell (London, 1856), p. 96. The French garrison marched out with the honors of war, colors flying and drums beating.

[31] Henry P. Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign* (New York, 1881), p. 155; *cf. William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag.*, XII. 102. I have made no effort to trace back to its origin the honors of war, but the following terms are interesting and appeared in the capitulation of the fortress of Breda when it surrendered in 1624 to Spinola: "The governor with the officers and soldiers, both horse and foot, to march out of town armed soldier-like,

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These age-old customs of war and ideas of military honor have their echoes even in modern army regulations. To-day, under the 75th Article of War, any officer who abandons or delivers up any fort that it is his duty to defend "shall suffer death or such other punishment as a court martial may direct". If the commander of a fortified place capitulates unnecessarily and shamefully in violation of orders from higher authority, he is liable to the punishment quoted. When the garrison of a hostile work capitulates, "contracting parties must take into account military honor". The victor may recognize the bravery of the defense and grant "the honors of War".[32]

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viz. the foot with flying colors, drums beating, compleately armed, bullets in mouth, matches lighted on both ends, their charges full of powder and shot. The horse with their trumpets sounding, standards displayed, armed in such sort as when they march towards the enemy. No soldier shall be questioned or detained for any cause or pretext whatsoever, not though he had formerly been in the enemy's service. All without exception having free liberty to march the best and most commodious way to their next garrison without injury, hinderance, or wrong done to their own persons, their arms, horses or baggage. And it shall be lawful for them to take with them their wives, children, household, householdstaffe, horses and carts." The officers were then granted wagons for their baggage. Four pieces of cannon and two mortars were granted with the necessary powder, ball, horses, and wagons. All prisoners were to be freed without ransom. Robert Ward, *Anima'dversions of Warre* (London, 1639).

[32] *Basic Field Manual* (Washington, 1934), vol. VII., Military Law, ch. IX., Capitulations.

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THE EARLY CARTOGRAPHY OF THE MISSOURI VALLEY

A study of the early cartography of the Missouri Valley reveals five important phases of development as recorded in the maps of that territory which were made between the date of its discovery and the time when scientific modern methods were able to produce a completely accurate map. It is the purpose of this paper to show on what knowledge the cartographers based the changes which were made in the maps of each of these periods, then, to indicate the fact that a certain map of each period deserves the appellation of "Mother Map", because from it originated the general run of contemporaneous Missouri Valley charts. Lastly, a brief outline of the topography depicted on each "Mother Map" will be discussed.[1]

The first idea of the Missouri Valley which gained any general circulation in Europe was that embodied in Liebaux's engraving, which accompanied the account of the Joliet-Marquette expedition edited by Thevenot in his *Recueil de voyages,* printed in Paris in 1681. Indeed, the study of early maps in the great collections, reproduced in the cartographical works of Harrisse, Nordenskiöld, Stephenson, and others, reveals none prior to the seventeenth century upon which may be identified with certainty a representation of the Missouri Valley.[2] Liebaux's

[1] The maps studied for this paper usually include a much wider area than the Missouri Valley, hence remarks concerning their similarity are to be understood as referring to the valley alone.

[2] Henry Harrisse, *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre Neuve* (Paris, 1900), and *The Discovery of North America* (Göttingen, 1899); Nils Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, *Periplus* (Stockholm, 1897), and *Facsimile-Atlas to the Early History of Cartography* (Stockholm, 1889); and Edward Luther Stephenson, *Maps illustrating Early Discovery and Exploration in America* (New Brunswick, 1903). Other notable collections are Edme François Jomard, *Les monuments de la géographie* (Paris, 1854–1862); Konrad Kretschmer, *Atlas der Entdeckung Amerika's* (Berlin, 1892); Friedrich Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas* (Munich, 1859); Justin Winsor, ed., *A Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1884–1889); Emerson D. Fite and Archibald Freeman, *A Book of Old Maps* (Cambridge, 1926). The discussion of over a hundred early maps and the evidence for this conclusion is contained in the first chapter of Hamilton (doctoral dissertation), *A Cartography of the Missouri Valley to the Establishment of "La Compagnie d'Occident", 1717* (St. Louis University, St. Louis, 1931). The conclusion, there recorded, is that comparatively few early maps show any western tributary of the Mississippi. When such a stream appears, place-names along it identify it with a river explored by members of the De Soto expedition when they were far below the Missouri; and hence this tributary is probably the Arkansas.

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map indicates a short section of a broad stream entering the Mississippi from the west at about the thirty-eighth degree north latitude, with a few legends north and south of the stream. One of these, *Oumissouri,* is sufficient to identify the intended locality. But Liebaux's print was only a copy of a rare manuscript, which is preserved in the department of maps in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.[3] It bears no date, but is commonly assigned by scholars to the year 1674 or 1675 and is supposed to have been drawn by French Jesuits to accompany *Jesuit Relations* for 1673 which, due to troubles arising from Louis XIV.'s Gallicanism, had to be circulated in France at that time in manuscript form. This handmade chart is entitled *Map of the new discoveries which the Jesuit Fathers made in the year 1672 and continued by Father James Marquette of the same company, accompanied by some Frenchmen in the year 1673, which map we may call in French La Manitoumie, because of the statue which is found in a beautiful valley and which the savages have come to consider as their divinity, whom they call manitou, that is spirit or genie.* Now, the discoveries of Marquette here referred to are those which he made in company with Joliet when they explored the Mississippi as far south as the Arkansas.[4] Joliet and Marquette both sketched the findings of their exploration in drawings which are still extant. *La Manitoumie* is not a copy of these originals, but rather compiled from the text of the *Relations* for 1673.

Joliet's map, made after his return to Quebec in 1674, bears the title *New discovery of several nations in New France in 1673–1674.*[5] As it was made from memory the Missouri Valley section shows no attempt at locating accurately the position of Indian villages, but there are eleven names placed in that territory. The original draft was found by Gravier in the nineteenth century and later purchased and brought to the United States.[6] It is now in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence.

It will not be necessary to dwell further on the features which Joliet depicted, for Marquette's chart, made at St. Francis Xavier Mission, on Green Bay, in the winter of 1674, is evidently more perfect, since it was drawn with the aid of his field notes. The original is now preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. It has no title, but is known

[3] Vol. C 17701, no. 24.

[4] Contemporaneous accounts of these explorations may be read in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* vols. LVIII. and LIX.

[5] For convenience, the titles of all maps have been translated into English.

[6] Joliet lost all his papers when his canoe upset in Lachine Rapids above Montreal. Gabriel Gravier, *Étude sur une carte inconnue, la première dressée par Louis Jolliet en 1674* (Paris, 1880).

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as Marquette's manuscript or holograph map. As this is the earliest sketch containing the Missouri Valley and the only one made by one of the original explorers from field notes it deserves the title of "Mother Map" for the first period of Missouri Valley cartography. Here is presented a picture of this Trans-Mississippi region which is interesting and remarkably informative. Ten nations are placed in the valley in a definite relation to the broad stream entering the Mississippi, which he calls *Pekittanoui* and which is the Missouri River. Lest one take their position too literally, the draftsman puts the warning that they are "Names of far-away nations in this country".[7]

Though there are no attempts to be exact in regard to the distances separating the tribes mentioned, it is remarkable how, even in this particular, their location approximates the truth. As the crow flies it is about 250 miles from the mouth of the Missouri to the Kansas River, another 150 to the Platte River, and a little more than that to the Big Sioux. The location of the legends *Ouemessourit, Otontanta,* and *Pahoutet* represent tribes near these three rivers. If the first distance be assumed as 250 miles (there is no scale) the proportional mileage to the other two places is quite correct.

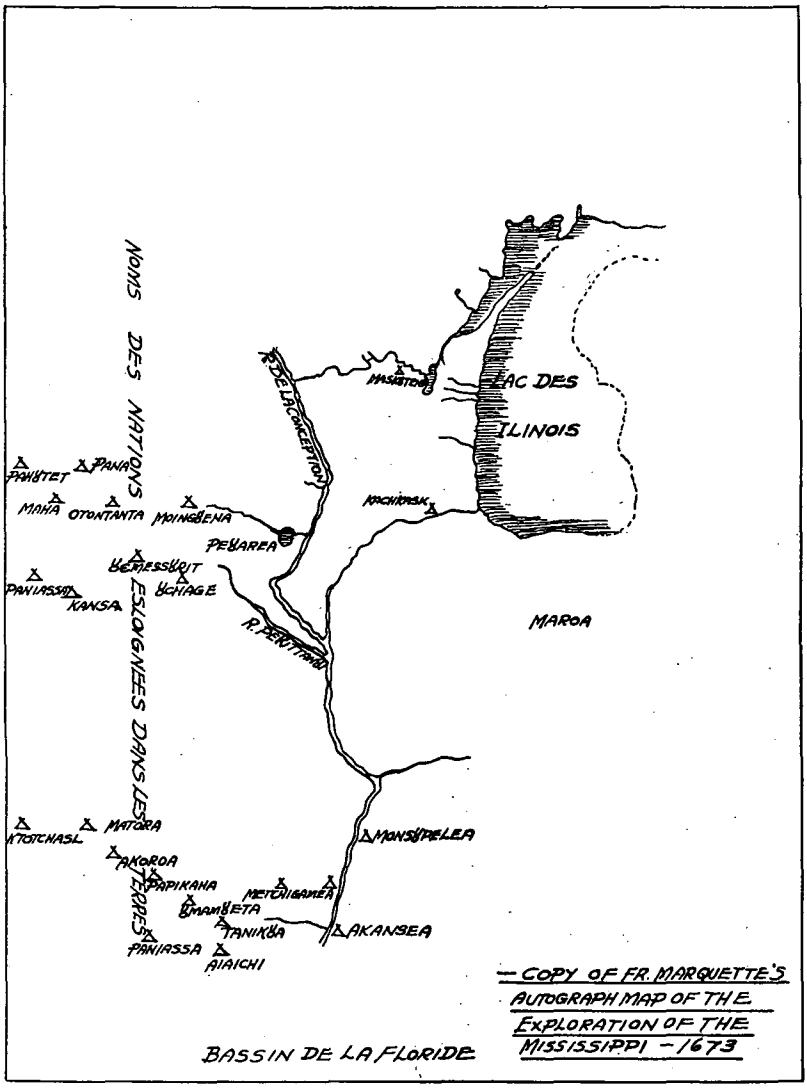
Such was the knowledge concerning the Missouri Valley conveyed to the world by the earliest map there is depicting it. From the standpoint of both quantity and accuracy the information was such as to reflect great credit on the scholarly priest who collected it and incorporated it in his chart. It was to remain a "Mother Map" for that country and contribute its main features to the works of many European cartographers long after the explorations of La Salle had added a new aspect to the geography of the region.[8]

The results of La Salle's expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682 were exhibited on a map which he brought to Paris the following year. Its author was a youthful Canadian, Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin. The original is lost, but Margry found a tracing of it in the collection

[7] Thwaites, LIX. 141–143. Marquette explains that Indian information furnished the data for his Missouri Valley. It may be well to mention here that this autograph map by the Jesuit priest never got to Europe. Hence it was not directly copied by the French cartographers. However, the missioner's notes enabled map-makers to compile the chart referred to above, and since Marquette's is the first known map of the Missouri Valley made from this information, it has seemed not inappropriate to honor it with the title "Mother Map".

[8] Maps of this type were made by J. B. L. Franquelin, M. V. Coronelli, Robert Morden, [ ] Raudin, Henri Tonty, Nicolas de Fer, Frederik de Wit, Juan di Olican, John Senex, Guillaume and Nicolas Sanson, Bernard de la Harpe, and Pieter Vander Aa.

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Most distant of all the tribes whose names appear on the map are the *Pahoutet.* This was the missioner's attempt at rendering the name of the Iowa (Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians,* I. 614). About 1718 these Indians were found to be living near the mouth of the Big Sioux, that is, near the present site of Sioux City (Marc de Villiers, *La découverte du Missouri,* pp. 59–63). The *Pana,* which come next, are the Ponca. Marquette placed them correctly above the *Maha,* or Omaha (Hodge, II. 121, 279). Albert Gallatin, in an authoritative article published in *Archæologia Americana* in 1836 established the early habitat of the Ponca on the Niobrara River, while the Omaha dwelt lower near the Platte (*Transactions and Collections* of the American Antiquarian Society, 1836, II. 127–128). Southeast of the last mentioned tribe appears the name of the *Otontanta,* which in slightly varying forms was the early appellation of the Oto (Hodge, II. 166). An exploring expedition which found the Iowa in 1718, also passed the Oto just below the Platte River, thus confirming the correctness of

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of the map-maker J. B. B. d'Anville.[9] It has the simple title *Map of North America,* and comprises a new and rather intricate picture of the Missouri Valley. For instance, it traces *The grand river of the Emissourittes* or *Missourits* from its source in some mountains just east of Santa Fe to its mouth, making it flow in a general eastward direction along the 38th degree north latitude. It depicts confluent streams north and south, while Marquette's *Pekittanoui* was the only river in the valley and flowed from the northwest.

There are two reasons which account for this change in outlining the features of the region. La Salle returned in 1682 to find that his rights to a fur monoply had expired, and hence he decided to convince the king that his discoveries would facilitate communication with New Spain, in the hope of being put in charge of an expedition in that direction. Secondly, since he had camped but a single night, February 14–15, 1682, at the mouth of the Missouri, he depended for his information with regard to the valley upon what he was told by a young Pawnee boy "aged sixteen or seventeen years" whom he had picked up as a prisoner among the Missouri Indians.[10] The boy had traveled the long journey from his home on the upper Platte to the mouth of the Missouri and hence was a rather competent informer. Boy-like, he made one natural mistake. Since the Platte was as broad as the Missouri at the confluence, he looked upon it as the main stream flowing all the way from his home to the Mississippi. The upper Missouri he considered a branch stream coming into his river from the north.[11] Moved by his desire to find a

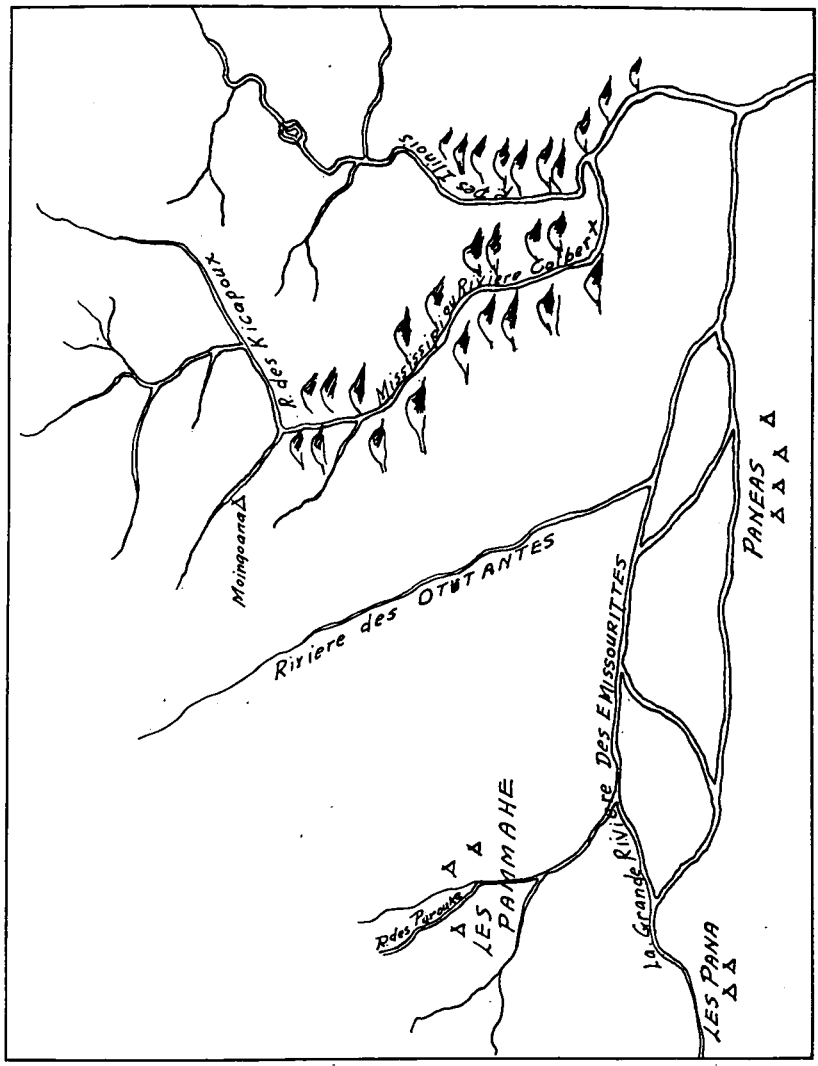
the relative position of the two tribes as indicated by Marquette (Villiers, p. 61). The next two legends toward the mouth of the Missouri are *Ouemessourit* (Missouri) and *Ouchage* (Osage) (Hodge, I. 913; II. 158). These two tribes were dwelling in the early eighteenth century, the former on the Missouri River near the Osage River and the latter along the Osage River in central Missouri. Northward in the valley, near the present Des Moines River, are the *Moingouena* who gave the name to the river and of whom Marquette heard from the Peoria at whose village he stopped on the eighth day after entering the Mississippi (Thwaites, LIX. 115). Southwest of the Missouri are the *Kansa,* correctly placed in the region where they lived along the Kansas River. The *Paniassa* placed above the Kansas in the traditional camping ground of the Pawnee can be meant for no other tribe.

[9] Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et établissements: Mémoires et documents* (Paris, 1899), II. 355. La Salle promised Abbé Bernou a map in a letter of October, 1682 (Library of Congress, French transcripts, Bibliothèque nationale, Clairambault MSS., 1016, ff. 148–150vo, p. 22. Hereafter the Library of Congress will be referred to in the notes by the letters "LC"). The Abbé Tronson also speaks of receiving a map, Margry, II. 355.

[10] LC, Bib. Nat., 1016, ff. 148–150vo, p. 7; ff. 188–189vo, p. 10.

[11] Vynard du Bourgmond, who passed the Platte about 1714, said: "Its entrance is larger than the Missouri is at that place" (Villiers, *Découverte du Missouri,* p. 59). If the Platte is the larger stream, this would be another reason for one unacquainted with the relative length of the Missouri to think it only a tributary to the Platte.

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From Franquelin's *Map of Louisiana*. Where the Platte turns northeast, *Les Pana* (the Pawnee) are found, while inland on the right bank of the river are villages, Gataeka and Manhout, with the legend, "These people have horses". They were the Kiowa tribes, according to Hodge (I. 699). Midway below the huge island is the legend *Paneas*, the Wichita of Caddoan stock (Hodge, II. 947). To the east where the two branches of *The grand river of the Emissouritites* join again, are the *Zages* (Osage). Far to the north, above the source of the *Riviere des Ototantes* are the *Paote* (Marquette's Pahoutet, the Iowa) and *Ototanta ou Mascoutens Nadouesiou*. The *Moingoana* are still placed on the Des Moines River.

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navigable water route that would conduct an expedition to Santa Fe, and by the information of the boy, La Salle called the Platte, *The grand river of the Emissourittes*. If the name of the stream were changed to Platte River, the picture comprising an area of the Missouri Valley 520 miles north and south and 925 miles east and west or about 470,000 square miles in all, would be quite an accurate representation.

As Franquelin made a most exquisite drawing of this whole territory entitled, *Map of Louisiana or of the voyages of Sr. de La Salle and the countries which he explored from New France to the Gulf of Mexico in the years 1679, 80, 81 and 82,* this, rather than the sketch which accompanied La Salle to Paris deserves the title "Mother Map" of the second period of Missouri Valley cartography.[12]

A glance at the information to be gleaned from this chart will prove that at as early a date as 1684 when it was completed, it afforded a very true description of the Missouri Valley as far as it went. The mountains where the Platte, misnamed the Missouri, rose, were the Rockies, not to appear again on a Missouri Valley map for forty years. From its source the river makes the typical large southeastern loop of the South Platte. At 267° 30′ east[13] the river divides into a double channel, one branch going to the north, the other to the south of a huge island which is ten degrees long and fully a degree wide. This island is divided by two cross streams, on the upper of which dwell the *Paneake* (other Pawnee tribes). Into the branch above the island, two tributaries empty. The first, *Riviere des Parouke* flowing from the territory of the *Panetoca* and *Les Pammahe 19 villages* and emptying near a village of the *Cansa,* is what is called to-day the North Platte.[14] The second northern tributary, the *Riviere des Otoutantes* (Oto) near which dwell the *Missourits,* is the stream which comes from the Oto and was in reality all that the boy could tell La Salle of the upper Missouri.

An explanation for the depicting of the huge island made by a split in the channel of the *Riviere des Emissourittes* may be found in the fact that the Pawnee boy, on his long canoe trip, passed the mouth of the

[12] In the days of Parkman, a tracing of this map was made for him. It is preserved in the Harvard College Library. A faithful copy of the tracing serves as frontispiece of Volume LXIII. of Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*. With regard to the original, Harrisse says: "This precious map which formerly was to be found in the archives at the Dépôt de la Marine in Paris (No. 2 of the box 29[b]), to-day is missing". See *Notes pour servir à l'histoire* (Paris, 1872), p. 201, no. 222.

[13] That is 109° west from Greenwich.

[14] Pammahe is a misspelling for La Salle's Panimaha whom Hodge identifies as the Skidi Loup, a tribe of the Pawnee confederacy which had dwelt on the north branch of the Platte from time immemorial (Hodge, II. 589).

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Kansas and Osage rivers whose courses inclose just about the area of the island as it appears on the map. The boy may have picked up a description of their course which led him to deduce that they were only additional channels of the stream by which he had come; or if he knew the truth he may have been misunderstood by La Salle in representing them this way, namely as surrounding a large island. Before finishing the description of Franquelin's "Great Map" as this is called, attention must be directed to one other important item. Through the mistake of naming the Platte River the Missouri, La Salle is responsible for the persistent tradition that the latter stream led to the gold mines of New Spain.

Franquelin's work, beautiful as it was and true as it was, did not get into print. However for twenty years, it was copied in manuscript by the best cartographers of Europe.[15]

The third phase of Missouri Valley geographical knowledge is typified in the productions of the famous French map-makers of the Delisle family. Two of their engravings served as models for maps of the region during the entire eighteenth century. The father Claude Delisle and his son Nicholas, the astronomer, did the research work, while Guillaume acted as draftsman.[16]

Their first publication, devoting special attention to the Missouri Valley, issued from the press in 1703. It bears the name *Map of Mexico and of Florida, of the English possessions and the Antilles, of the course of the Mississippi River and its environs. Drawn after a great number of memoirs but principally those of M. d'Iberville and Le Sueur.* An original print may be seen in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, while the Library of Congress in Washington has two or more copies.[17] In a paper of the present length it will only be possible to summarize briefly the researches which the Delisles undertook with regard to the Missouri Valley before they delineated it.

In the archives of the Service hydrographique, dépôt de Marine, Paris, there is a whole section of manuscripts which comprises the Delisle papers. Many of these, bearing on American history, are now available in the Library of Congress, French Transcripts. There is a

[15] Maps with all or some of the characteristics of Franquelin's "Great Map" were produced by P. J. Gentil, [ ] Minet, Louis Hennepin, Louis, sieur de Louvigny, Edward Wells, La Hontan, [ ] Fonville, Guillaume Delisle, Fer, Carolus Allard, Wit, Jacques Chiquet, Gerard Valk, and J. B. Nolin.

[16] See Michaud, *Biographie universelle,* "Delisle". Proceedings of a lawsuit, Guillaume Delisle *v.* John B. Nolin, prove that Guillaume was the draftsman (LC, Bib. Nat., MSS. Fr., 22119, ff. 181–191).

[17] LC, Map Division, "American Maps", vol. I., no. 8.

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"List of books, memoirs, and maps which were used by Claude Delisle for engraving his map of Canada, the Mississippi, and Florida presented to Pontchartrain; and a notice about this map by Claude Delisle".[18] In going through this list twenty-four titles may be found which relate to that portion of the finished chart which represents the Missouri Valley.

Working on this material Guillaume Delisle began a series of sketch maps, building them up from the geographical facts reported by the actual explorers of the country.[19] One hundred and twenty of them can be recognized as contributing to the *Carte du Mexique.* Fourteen directly concern the Missouri Valley, a large proportion in view of the fact that the map included so many other districts. One of these sketches must be mentioned briefly as it includes the fundamental outline of the whole lower portion of the Missouri Valley as it appeared in Delisle's finished engraving. This drawing is entitled *Course of the River of Oubache and Missouri sent by the R. F. Marest, Jesuit, to M. d'Iberville July 10, 1700.*[20] Gabriel Marest was the Jesuit missioner who in the fall of 1700 accompanied the Kaskaskia Indians from their home on the Illinois to the present site of St. Louis, where he established the first settlement ever planted in the Missouri Valley.[21] In the Delisle collection there is a letter from the priest which accompanied his sketch and contained evidence accrediting what it outlined.[22] The extensive use of this material must have been one of the reasons for the French cartographer's reference to Iberville as one of his special sources of information. Le Sueur, it will be remembered, was the other individual to have the distinction of a mention in the title of the *Carte du Mexique.* He was responsible for information with regard to the upper Missouri Valley. In 1700 this gentleman had established his Fort l'Huillier, on the present site of Mankato, Minnesota.[23] In 1702 Delisle had traced a *Map*

[18] LC, A. S. H., 115^{x}, no. 17.

[19] Evidence of the pains to which Delisle went in this work occurs in his letter to Cassini, *ibid.*, no. 17—I. The archives of the Missouri Historical Society contain 180 photographs of the sketches. They are catalogued as "Delisle Collection of Maps, Portfolios 178–194".

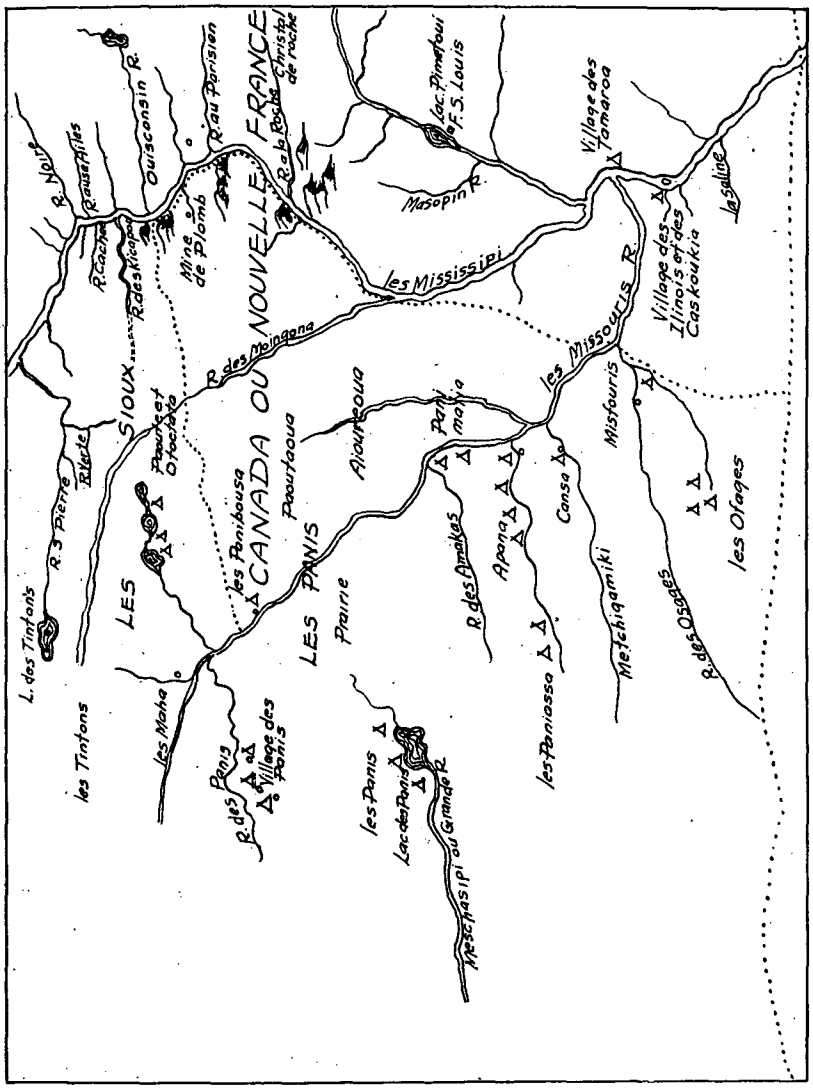
[20] The original, Paris, Archives nationales, JJ 75–265.

[21] For the interesting discovery of documents which prove that there was a settlement on the present site of St. Louis sixty-four years before the coming of Pierre Laclede, see articles by Gilbert J. Garraghan in St. Louis *Globe Democrat,* Oct. 25, 1925; *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* IX. 342–347; Missouri Historical Society, *Collections,* V. 256–264; and *Catholic Historical Review,* IX. (Jan. 1930), 351–362.

[22] Pierre Heinrich, *La Louisiane* (Paris, 1908), page 23, note 5, gives the provenance of this letter as A.S.H., 115^{x}, no. 15.

[23] Winsor, *Mississippi Basin,* page 52, makes the mistake of placing this event in 1701. A careful reading of Margry, VI. 69–77, shows that it really took place in 1700.

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The Missouri Valley as it appears on Delisle's *Map of Mexico and of Florida*, 1703.

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of the River of Mississippi after the memoirs of M. le Sueur who has taken with the compass all the curves of its channel from the sea to the River St. Peter and took the height of the pole at several places, which contains all the information of the upper valley incorporated in his later production published in 1703.[24]

A comparison of the *Carte du Mexique* with what is now known of the Missouri Valley will prove that the cartographer had succeeded remarkably well in depicting the Missouri as far north as the Big Sioux, where he indicates ignorance of its more remote channel by the width of its stream at this point and no further attempt to trace the direction whence it flows. Unfortunately he was unable to interpret the knowledge contained on Franquelin's map as it has been explained in the present paper, hence he did not include the Platte River, except for a tiny stream about opposite the present Sioux City, which he calls *R. des Panis,* and probably intended for the stream passing their ancestral home in present western Nebraska.

This Delisle type Missouri Valley was copied as late as the end of the eighteenth century. It appears on Carrington Bowles's *New map of North America and boundaries of the United States,* published in the year of the Treaty of Paris, 1783.[25] But, long before this, in 1718, in fact, Delisle had introduced several additional features into a new print of America, among them some fundamental changes in the Missouri Valley which were copied even more widely and hence must be briefly noted. These changes were incorporated in a *Map of Louisiana and of the course of the Mississippi, drawn after a great number of memoirs, among others those of Mr. Le Maire. By Wm. Delisle of the Royal Academy of Sciences.* The Library of Congress possesses an original French copy, printed "chez l'auteur", 1718.[26]

The "Mr. Le Maire" who receives special mention in the title was a missionary who labored among the Indians of the Mississippi Valley for a number of years about the beginning of the eighteenth century and sent back information to the priests of his congregation in Paris. Among these was Father Bobé a friend of the Delisles and it must have been he who turned over this new information of the Far West. His letters are found in the Delisle papers.[27] Among these documents is a reference

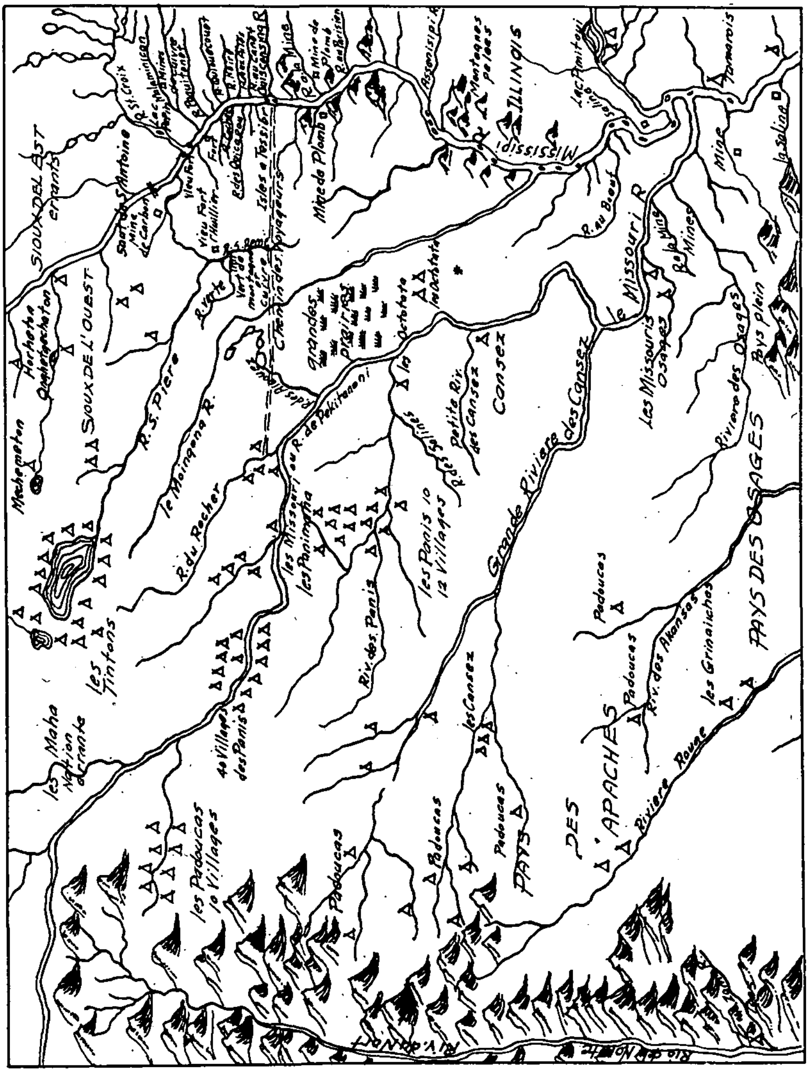
[24] Original: Paris, Dépôt des cartes et journaux de la Marine.

[25] An original of Bowles's map is in LC, Map Division, "North America, 1783". Senex, Hermann Moll, George Willdey, Fer, H. A. Chatelain, Henry Popple, and Matthew Seutter are other famous cartographers who copied Delisle.

[26] LC, Map Div., "North America, 1718".

[27] LC, A.S.H., 115[xxxii], no. 4 contains ninety-five pages of material mostly from the pen of Le Maire.

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From Delisle's map of 1718. The word *Panimaha*, modern Skidi or Loup (Hodge, II. 589) is found on the north branch of the Platte. The *Panis* are on the main stream, and the *Otates* (Oto) near its mouth (*ibid.*, p. 216). The *Cansez* (Kansas) are noted as living at the time in two localities, one on the Missouri, the other on the Kansas. The name *Padouca* appears six times. Vermale placed the "country of the Apaches and of the Padoucas" near this spot. The *Osages* are above the *Missouris*, who are indicated as dwelling on the *R. a la mine*, and across the Ozarks is written "Country full of mines". Just west of this point the *Paniassa* dwell.

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to a map by Le Maire which has been found in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. It is his *New map of Louisiana and the neighboring lands. Drawn on the spot to be presented to His Most Christian Majesty by S. le Maire, Parisian priest and Missionary Apostolic, 1716.*[28] Comparing it with Delisle's print of 1718 one finds a great similarity in outline and legend. The perusal of the missionary's letters proves them to be the source of other features, such for instance as the mountains to the west of the Missouri Valley, for Le Maire mentions in one epistle that the "same chain of mountains where gold and silver is found in Peru and Mexico is continued and passes along the watershed of Louisiana". A note from Claude Delisle to Father Bobé acknowledges his indebtedness to the Le Maire material for some features in the Trans-Mississippi region of his map;[29] but he makes clear that he had other sources which he considered equally as important. One of these, beyond doubt, was a geographical sketch by an unidentified draftsman named Vermale. A copy of this, executed by an unnamed Cornette de Dragons in 1717, reposes in the Dépôt des cartes et journaux de la Marine, Paris. It is called *General map of Louisiana or of the Miciscipi drawn after several memoirs and designed by Sr. Vermale.* Although Delisle nowhere mentions the use of this work, legends of a very distinctive character which appear on it and his map afford evidence sufficient to prove his indebtedness. Lastly, indications are to be found that Delisle must have had news of the travels up the Missouri made by Vynard du Bourgmond before 1718. Probably about 1714 this young French officer had ascended the Missouri as far as the Platte and before the founding of New Orleans he had made his way to the Aricara villages. Although Bourgmond's accounts of these two trips have been found in Paris archives, Delisle did not have the journals themselves in 1718.[30]

It would take too long to refer to all the famous cartographers of

[28] Ge D. 7883.

[29] LC, A.S.H., 115^{x}, no. 22, pp. 4–5; no. 26.

[30] Villiers, pages 60–63, refers to the manuscript accounts of these two trips. The earlier of these may be had in LC, A.S.H., 67^{2}, no. 17. The other is referred to by Villiers as in Arch. Nat., Colonies, C 13, C. I., ff. 253–255. The copy, by Nicholas Delisle, of Bourgmond's journal for the first trip is dated March 29 to June 16, 1714, thus establishing the year of his explorations. At the end of the account Nicholas notes that he has found a manuscript map made by his brother after the data herein contained. A careful study of the journal and the sketches in the Delisle Collection of the Missouri Historical Society has established that it is the one entitled *Carte de l'Amerique septentrionale depuis le quatriemedegré de latitude jusqu'au soixantieme,* finished about 1724 (Arch. Nat., JJ 75–129). Add to this the fact that Bourgmond did not leave the colonies till October 28, 1719, and there seems sufficient evidence for concluding that this material was not available when the 1718 map was made.

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various nationalities who transferred the Missouri Valley of Delisle to their maps. Dr. John Mitchell's *A map of the British colonies in North America, etc.,* 1755, is deservedly rated one of the most original maps of the period, due to the fact, as stated by the author, that it is "chiefly composed from draughts, charts and actual surveys . . . which have been lately taken". However, in the Missouri Valley, except for very minor details, there is nothing shown which does not appear on the Delisle map. When Aaron Arrowsmith is mentioned as using the same characteristics of the region on his *Map of the United States of North America,* dated 1796, it will be seen that they still had vogue even at the very close of the eighteenth century.[31]

The contour of the Missouri River, according to Delisle, as far north as the home of the Aricara Indians is quite correct. Beyond this point the river flows from a little north of west where a legend says, "In this neighborhood according to the report of the Indians the Spaniards ford the Missouri on horseback, on their way to trade with the nations situated to the northwest whence they bring back yellow iron as the Indians call it". Some distance below this is the honest statement, "The French have only ascended the Missouri this far". The scale indicates the latter point to be about 400 leagues from the river's mouth. The confluences of the Platte and the Kansas rivers are placed at the proper altitude, but there is a mistake as to the relative size of these streams, the Kansas being made the larger. Had Delisle only realized the fact that Franquelin's *Riviere des Emissourittes* was the Platte, and used it for such he would have avoided this mistake as well as the one contained in the legend about fording the Missouri. It was the Platte that the Spaniards crossed in their searches for gold and not the Missouri.

In the seventeen nineties, due to the activity of the fur traders, new data began to find their way into maps of the Missouri Valley. For example, Soulard, a surveyor at St. Louis, published a map in August, 1795, which for the first time depicted the Yellowstone, but he mistook it for the upper course of the Missouri. Jean Baptiste Truteau who had made a trip north returning in July of that year, the first trip for the Missouri Fur Company, seems to have been the source of information

[31] LC, Map Div., Mitchell, "North America, 1755"; Arrowsmith, "United States, 1796". Other notable cartographers who show the influence of this map of Delisle's include the names of Jacques Bellin, 1755; Robert de Vaugondy, 1750; Robert Sayer, *ca.* 1750; Emanuel Bowen, 1752 *et seq.*; Philippe Buache, 1763; Palairet, 1755 *et seq.*; Thomas Kitchin, 1787; Jean Baptiste d'Anville, 1776; William Faden, 1777; Cornelius Mortier, *ca.*, 1781, and others.

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for Soulard.[32] Then there is a map by Arrowsmith, which includes the entire length of the Rocky Mountains north and south[33] and the northernmost bend of the Missouri River, which David Thompson had discovered in 1798. Arrowsmith published it in 1802 and gave credit to the employees of the Northwest Fur Company for the new information of the Far West which it contained. James Mackay ascended the Missouri, traveling for the Missouri Fur Company, in the summer of 1795, and spent the winter on the Elkhorn, Loup, and Niobrara rivers. Perrin du Lac noted his discoveries on the map which accompanied his book, *Travels in the two Louisianas and among the Savage Nations of Missouri in 1801–1803*. So diverse were the pictures of the Missouri Valley contained in these charts that they did not elicit any general faith in their trustworthiness. Only when Lewis and Clark accomplished their remarkable expedition and edited a complete representation of the country under date of 1814 was it acknowledged that a new epoch of Missouri Valley cartography had dawned.[34] *A map of Lewis and Clark's track across the western portion of North America from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; by order of the Executive of the United States, in 1804, 5 & 6. (Copied by Samuel Lewis from the original drawing of Wm. Clark. Saml. Harrison Fct.)* was then immediately reproduced throughout the world.

To trace the main sources of information for this engraving has been rendered easy since Thwaites edited the journals of the explorers,[35] for he made available facsimiles of all the geographic sketches of Lieutenant Clark. Moreover the originals are now to be had in the Vorheis Collection at the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. A study of Clark's sketches reveals that they can be patched together, after the manner of a jig saw puzzle, to form the length of the main streams of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. For the rest of the valley Clark depended on two interesting sources. The first was a map made in 1796 by Mackay's

[32] See *Idée topographique des huts du Mississippi et dumissouri . . . Designée par Mr. Soulard . . . Année 1795 mois d'aout*, in the Margry Tracings, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. Two portions of the journal of Truteau have been found. They appeared in the *American Historical Review*, XIX. 299–333, and the Missouri Historical Society *Collections*, IV. 9–48.

[33] LC, Map Div., "North America, 1802", *A map exhibiting all the new discoveries in the interior parts of North America*. Doubtless he derived this idea from *An Indian map of the upper Missouri*, drawn in 1801 by a Blackfoot Indian and taken to London by Fidler (LC, Kohl Collection, no. 243).

[34] Paul Allen, ed., *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* (Philadelphia, 1814).

[35] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904).

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companion John Evans, which is now preserved in the Library of Congress.[36] Evans was an educated man who spoke Welsh, English, and evidently some French, since he frequently translated French place-names.[37] He did not have the artistic skill of an expert cartographer but his work is characterized by an intelligent interpretation of what he learned about the unexplored interior from the Indians whom he met on a trip up the Missouri as far north as as the Mandan villages. There are corrections on this map, in the hand of Clark, which is an indication that the latter had it with him on the way to the Pacific and did what he could to verify its data. The other source for that part of the Missouri Valley at some distance from the river itself is found in the Vorheis Collection. It is entitled, in the hand of Clark, "Sketch of the big horn country obtained from George Drewyer, 1808".[38] It outlines the activities of the Canadian hunter Drouillard who accompanied the Lewis and Clark expedition, but left them at the Mandan villages in the fall of 1806 to start an expedition of his own in the neighborhood of the upper Yellowstone. He spent the year 1807 and the spring of 1808 in the territory of what is now Wyoming and Montana. He traveled the Big Horn, the Prior, Stinking Water, the Tongue, and the Yellowstone. The finished work of Samuel Lewis accredits him as authority for what is depicted of the terrain in those regions.

Shortly after its appearance in 1814 the Lewis and Clark map, as already remarked, was copied throughout the civilized world, for the first time conveying a rather complete idea of the Missouri Valley to scholars.[39] The one section that was faulty to a decided degree was the valley of the Platte. In 1820 Stephen Long's expedition was to complete a good survey of this territory, but this officer fastened on the region the title of "The Great American Desert" and hence did the country more harm than good by the report of what he had found.[40] To devote time to the

[36] LC, MS. map, Missouri River, case 2 D. There is no title on this map. The evidence identifying it as by Evans is contained in an article by Annie Heloise Abel in *The Geographical Review*, I. 329–345.

[37] In the Vorheis Collection, Missouri Historical Society, among the Clark Papers, there is a small packet of twelve pages entitled Indian Tribes, with the subtitle, in the hand of Clark, "Evins Notes". In it one may read that Evans, because of his knowledge of Welsh, had disproved the old tradition that the Padoucas were of Welsh origin.

[38] LC, Map Div., "Big Horn River, Montana, 1808".

[39] Copies of this map were made by William Darby, Samuel Lewis, J. H. Robinson, William Faden, John Thomson, H. S. Tanner, John Melish, A. H. Brué, Eustache Hérisson, Joseph Dirwald, W. E. A. von Schlieben, Stanislao Stucchi, and others.

[40] *Account of an expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia, 1823, 2 vols. and atlas).

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identification of place-names, here, is unnecessary for this has been carefully done in the editions of the various Journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition edited by Coues, Thwaites, and Quaife.[41]

The final period of early Missouri Valley cartography extends from 1820 to 1857 and is that in which the United States Army by expeditions, which crossed and recrossed the territory, was able finally to produce the remarkably accurate map of Lieutenant G. K. Warren of the Topographical Engineers entitled *Map of the territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean ordered by the Hon. Jeffn. Davis, Secretary of War to accompany the report of the Exploration for a Railroad route made in accordance with the 10th and 11th sections of the Army Appropriations Act of March 3rd 1853.*[42]

Warren himself took charge of that portion of the chart delineating the Missouri Valley. What he depicts there is based on all the authentic findings of earlier explorers as well as sixteen new expeditions run through distinct sections of the country during the years 1853 to 1857. His method of procedure during these reconnoissances is referred to on the map itself and fully discussed in the eleventh volume of *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean,* published by the War Department in 1861. This matter-of-fact military record spends no time on explanation of the difficulties that the brave soldiers went through in order to accomplish the project assigned them by their higher officers, but an occasional remark, such as: "at this point our captain was killed by the Indians", brings home the fact that the country was still a desperate frontier in those days, and that collecting geographical data was still a harrowing adventure.[43] Warren's map was not complete. He indicated many a stream with dotted lines and left vast areas as *terra incognita* but nothing better was done till the frontier had practically passed away and the college bred surveyor could go at leisure into a peaceful land to complete the picture in detail.

In conclusion it may be of interest to note that in the whole Missouri Valley which, to-day, teems with thousands of towns and cities, all of which are closely bound together by a network of railroads and state

[41] Elliott Coues, ed., *History of the Expedition under Command of Lewis and Clark* (New York, 1893); Milo M. Quaife, Journals of Lewis and Ordway, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Collections,* vol. XXII. Thwaites, *op. cit.*

[42] LC, Map Div., "United States, 1857".

[43] Such was the fate that befell Captain Warner (Warren, "Memoirs", in *Reports of Explorations,* XI. 53, referred to above).

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highways, Warren's map, seventy-five years ago, did not indicate a single road and, above St. Joseph, Missouri, records only five struggling hamlets in the entire valley. They were Nebraska City, Platte City (now Plattesmouth), Omaha, Kanesville (now Council Bluffs), and Sioux City.

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THE NEGOTIATION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN TREATY OF 1870

On February 17, 1866, a measure was rushed through the British Parliament suspending the writ of habeas corpus in Ireland. The occasion for this act was the imminence of a rebellious outbreak together with the appearance there of numbers of Irish-Americans most of whom were veterans of the American Civil War.[1] Its object was the arrest and imprisonment of these Americans who had as yet committed no offense for which they could be prosecuted. In consequence of it most of the American citizens in Ireland were speedily confined in Irish jails. These included a few native Americans but the large majority were naturalized Americans who had been born under the British flag.[2]

Five days after the passage of the act, Charles Francis Adams, American minister at the Court of St. James, reported to Secretary of State Seward as follows:

> One of the gravest difficulties presented to me in this proceeding grows out of the conflicting views of allegiance entertained in the two countries. Here the courts adhere to the old doctrine generally held in Europe, that it is indefeasible. We, on the other hand, maintain the absolute right of expatriation. Hence we are in some danger of a renewal of the dispute of half a century since, and, perhaps, a similar issue, if the government here does not take care to temper its harsh measures of prevention with a discriminating regard for the possible innocence of those whom they associate with the guilty.[3]

Thus, the Banquo's ghost of Anglo-American relations, the problem of citizenship, was thrust into the post-Civil War bitterness which characterized Northern sentiment toward England. The story of the laying of the ghost and of its effect on the negotiations over the Alabama claims and the San Juan boundary has remained a largely unexplored episode in the history of American diplomacy.

[1] No secret was made of either the occasion for the act or its object. See Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., vol. CLXXXI., cols. 658–663, 667–724; *House Executive Documents*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., no. 157, pt. 2, pp. 38–41, where the Dublin *Evening Mail* and the Dublin *Packet* are quoted; Lord Russell, foreign secretary, to Sir Frederick Bruce, British minister to Washington, Feb. 19, 1866, F. O. 5/1059; Adams to Seward, Feb. 22, 1866, *Foreign Relations*, 1866, pt. 1, p. 69.

[2] See the correspondence of the period between William B. West and the other American consuls in Ireland, and Adams and Seward printed in *House Exec. Doc., op. cit.*, pts. 1 and 2. See also Report of the Dublin Metropolitan Police Superintendent to the Home Office, H. O. 45/7799/74.

[3] *For. Rel.*, 1866, pt. 1, p. 69.

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The actual issue, in brief, involved the status in Ireland of naturalized Americans of Irish birth. In accordance with the British rule of perpetual allegiance they remained in English eyes the subjects of Great Britain. By the American government, on the other hand, they were considered to be American citizens, the equals of native Americans in every respect save that of eligibility for the presidency. As a result, when the British authorities admitted the right of American officials to make representations in favor of native Americans but denied this right when naturalized Americans of British birth were concerned, the proverbial irresistible force was face to face with the immovable object. That the potentialities inherent in this question alone were of a serious nature is self-evident but when it was injected into the strained atmosphere created by England's attitude during the Civil War it became doubly dangerous.

Another factor tending to complicate the already difficult situation was the activity in America of the Fenian Brotherhood, a secret Irish revolutionary society. Taking advantage of circumstances which for the first time combined to make it a real influence in American foreign policy, it set out to secure freedom for Ireland by involving England and America in war.[4] That its influence was of importance at all was due in part to the large numbers of Irish-Americans who had borne arms in the Northern ranks and to the services rendered the Union cause by the "Irish Brigade", the "Corcoran Legion", and other predominantly Irish units.[5] The fact alone that Irish-Americans arrested in Ireland and held without trial could appeal to their adopted country as former defenders of the Union was bound to secure for them a sympathetic hearing. The political situation also played into the hands of the Brotherhood. Its members, organized in compact groups throughout the country, in many places held a possible balance of power between the factions supporting the Johnson party and the Radicals in Congress.[6] Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister to Washington, described a recurring

[4] Evidence of the Fenian desire for an Anglo-American war runs through the letters and literature of the movement with no attempt at concealment. See the letters of individual Fenians printed in *House Exec. Doc., op. cit.* Note also the comment in P. H. Bagenal, *The American Irish and their Influence on Irish Politics* (Boston, 1882), pp. 143–144.

[5] It was asserted by Thomas H. Lonergan in an article on General Thomas Francis Meagher that 170,000 natives of Ireland and twice that number of men of Irish descent fought in the Northern ranks. *Journal* of the American Irish Historical Society, XII. 118.

[6] On this point the reports of T. E. Wilkins, an agent appointed by Bruce to investigate the Fenian movement, are interesting and significant. See Wilkins to F. O. Adams, second secretary to the British legation, Aug. 19, 1865, and Wilkins to Bruce, Sept. 6, 1865, F. O. 5/1334.

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condition when he wrote that in New York no politician would declare himself against the Fenian organization since an election was impending and "both parties are bent on receiving the Irish vote". From Boston the British consul, E. M. Archibald, predicted that the importance of the Irish vote would always cause Fenian enterprises "to be dealt with tenderly".[7]

This organization naturally attempted to turn the feeling aroused in America by England's discrimination between native and naturalized Americans to its own ends. That it did not succeed in the early stages of the controversy was largely due to the intelligent diplomacy of Adams. Recognizing the positions of the two countries to be irreconcilable, he sought by candor, compromise, and concession "to avoid a collision, by endeavoring so far as was practicable to evade making the issue".[8] Fortunately, in this endeavor he received the coöperation of the Earl of Clarendon, who had brought to the foreign office the experience acquired as lord lieutenant of Ireland during a somewhat similar episode in 1848.

As the months passed, however, the dangerous potentialities of the situation gradually developed. The plight of Americans in Ireland, arrested and jailed without charge or trial, received wide publicity in America as numbers of the prisoners, released largely through the efforts of Adams and on condition that they leave the country, straggled back across the Atlantic to tell their stories.[9] While it seems clear that in practically every case the individual was a Fenian and his presence in Ireland a threat to its peace and order, American indignation mounted. In Congress resolutions of sympathy for Ireland were debated and bills aimed at the weakening of the American neutrality laws were introduced.[10]

The climax came with the arrest, trial, conviction, and sentence to long terms of imprisonment of certain members of the ill-starred Jacmel expedition which had set out from New York in June, 1867, with the

[7] Bruce to Russell, Oct. 19, 1865, F. O. 5/1335. Archibald to Russell, Sept. 16, 1865, F. O. 5/1334.

[8] Adams to Seward, Feb. 22 and Mar. 8, 1866, *For. Rel.*, 1866, pt. 1, pp. 70, 76.

[9] With the release of each Irish-born naturalized American one of the American consuls was informed by the Irish government that the action had been taken only as a matter of courtesy and that no right of intervention on the individual's behalf by a foreign government was recognized. For a specimen of the form letter which was used for this purpose, see Thomas Larcom, under-secretary for Ireland, to E. G. Eastman, consul at Queenstown, Apr. 4, 1866, *House Exec. Doc., op. cit.*, pt. 2, p. 59.

[10] For examples of these, see *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., pt. 5, pp. 4193–4194, and 40 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 36, 67, 392.

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object of freeing Ireland.[11] Here again Northern veterans were concerned and here again England refused to treat Irish-born naturalized Americans as other than British subjects. Under the management of the Fenian organization mass meetings held throughout America flooded Washington with petitions. Seward declared that the government was being appealed to "from Portland to San Francisco and from St. Paul to Pensacola".[12] In the midst of this agitation two unfortunate events made the situation even more critical. Sir Frederick Bruce, up to this time an important influence working for conciliation, after advising his government against the very course it followed, died suddenly in Boston. On the same day a Fenian riot in Manchester, England, produced a panic in that country such as, in the words of Adams, had not been seen since the time of Guy Fawkes.[13] Such a state of public excitement did not tend to produce in the British government a policy of moderation or concession.

In the House of Representatives the episode was followed by the introduction of the Banks retaliation bill which provided, in part, that when a naturalized American was arrested by a foreign government upon the allegation that naturalization in the United States did not operate to dissolve his allegiance to his native sovereign, or if any citizen should have been so arrested and detained whose release upon demand should have been unreasonably delayed or refused, the President should be empowered to order the arrest and to detain in custody any subject or citizen of such foreign government who might be found within the jurisdiction of the United States.[14] If enacted and enforced, this law, which apparently had but one precedent in modern times and that an act of Napoleon I., must speedily have brought on the war so much desired by the Fenians. Luckily, its loose and faulty construction forced its recommitment after a short debate and a month was to elapse before it appeared again.

These events brought home first to British statesmen and later to Seward the desperate need for an agreement on the citizenship question

[11] No good account of this expedition has so far been published. One is compelled to reconstruct the story largely from the report of the trial of a member of the expedition, Colonel Warren, which is printed in full in *House Exec. Doc., op. cit.*, pt. 1, pp. 217–292.

[12] The Fenian senate instructed each Fenian group throughout the country to stage a public meeting of protest and furnished each with petitions to be signed and forwarded to Washington. Copies of the instructions and petitions were inclosed in Archibald's report to Stanley, Dec. 24, 1867, F. O. 5/1342. Seward to Adams, Jan. 13, 1868, *For. Rel.*, 1868, pt. 1, pp. 142–143.

[13] Adams to Seward, Dec. 24, 1867, *ibid.*, pp. 130–131.

[14] The bill is printed in full in the *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., pt. 1, p. 783.

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if the two countries were not to be led further along the path toward eventual conflict.

Since any agreement which would satisfy America must necessarily alter the age-old British doctrine of once an Englishman always an Englishman, this doctrine became the first point of attack. On December 11, 1867, William Vernon Harcourt, an eminent English barrister with a passion for international law, writing over the signature "Historicus", argued that the English doctrine of allegiance had been evolved to meet a situation created by feudalism. In early times few people had left the kingdom except for the purpose of escaping some service. In the nineteenth century, on the other hand, a great tide of emigration had been caused by the limited resources of England which could not adequately support its growing population. Because of this development, Harcourt favored a law granting the right of expatriation although he thought it dangerous for England to make the change entirely by herself. He advocated, in consequence, the establishment of a mixed commission of American and English lawyers and statesmen to work out a common basis of agreement for the two countries.[15]

Editorially the London *Times,* joining Harcourt in his agitation for revision, urged Anglo-American coöperation in finding a new basis for legislation on the subject. The Fenian activities, it suggested, had made the question essentially one of policy rather than law, a fact which rendered indispensable an Anglo-American understanding.[16] Before the Law Amendment Society, the jurist, John Westlake, declared the time had come when necessity required some clear and mutual understanding on the subjects of naturalization and expatriation.[17]

Seward's reaction to these unofficial suggestions was not one of enthusiasm. To him they were merely acceptable indications of a disposition to relieve the two governments of the embarrassments arising from the unnecessary and indiscreet assertion by Great Britain of a practically obsolete principle. While an agreement might be desirable to remove further friction, he feared that the failure of England to settle the Alabama claims, the severity of the sentences of British courts in the Fenian cases, and their discrimination between native and naturalized Ameri-

[15] London *Times,* Dec. 11, 1867, p. 6, cols. 2–4.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 8, col. 5. See also issues of Jan. 8, 1868, p. 6, cols. 3–4, and Jan. 10, 1868, p. 10, cols. 1–3.

[17] Reported in the Dublin *Freeman,* Jan. 16, 1868, and reprinted in *House Exec. Doc., op. cit.,* pt. 2, pp. 94–95. In the discussion following the paper Harcourt and Sir Robert Phillimore participated. There was general agreement that a change should be made, but some question as to what change.

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cans had created a situation unfavorable to a negotiation for the single purpose of revising the English law of expatriation. His counter-suggestion, offered a month and a half later, favored a proceeding in the form of mutual or common legislation in the two countries, a much simpler solution than the formal negotiation of a treaty.[18]

Before this proposal reached England, Lord Stanley, successor to Clarendon in the foreign office, believing English sentiment to be unanimously in favor of a change in the English law, suggested the creation of an international commission representing America, Prussia, France, and England to devise and recommend a uniform system of citizenship regulations. He knew that at this time the American minister to Prussia, George Bancroft, was successfully concluding a treaty with Bismarck on the same subject.[19] Having watched the negotiation with great interest, Stanley thought the time ripe to settle the problem once and for all with the leading powers by a multilateral agreement. At the same time he directed Thornton, the new British minister to Washington, to engage in any conversations having for their object the arrangement of the citizenship difficulties.

The arrival of these instructions found Seward's ideas as to a negotiation with England radically changed. The Banks bill with the reprisal feature unaltered was shortly to be reintroduced in Congress with an excellent chance of passage. This could be headed off by treaty concessions from England sufficient to satisfy the moderates. To Seward the need for a settlement now seemed so urgent, if harmony was to be preserved, that no time existed for the creation of an international commission. To render a speedy agreement possible, he put forward the provisions of the Bancroft treaty which had just been signed by the North German Confederation as the possible basis for a negotiation. Further than this, he declared that for the time being he would consider no suggestions in regard to claims or other topics since his views on them would be "greatly influenced by the result of the anticipated proceedings in regard to naturalization".[20]

Seward's own explanation of his change of mind emphasized the apparently unexpected success of Bancroft which had encouraged him to

[18] Seward to Adams, Dec. 27, 1867, *For. Rel.*, 1868, pt. 1, p. 133. Seward tells of his suggestion in an instruction to Bancroft in which he is directed to speak to the British ambassador in Berlin along the same lines. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[19] Adams to Seward, Feb. 18, 1868, *ibid.*, pp. 155–156. For the Bancroft negotiation, see reports of Lord Augustus Loftus, British minister in Berlin, to Stanley, F. O. 244/224.

[20] Seward to Adams, Mar. 7, 1868, *For. Rel.*, 1868, pt. 1, pp. 158–159.

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try for a similar treaty with England at once.[21] Speed was desired for he thought the Bancroft treaty would receive the sanction of the Senate without delay. If it did, and if a similar treaty could be negotiated with England without publicity and without drawing the fire of the antagonistic public opinion of the country, the Senate would be morally obliged to accept it.[22]

Thornton transmitted to Stanley the main features of the Bancroft treaty with a request for permission to sign a like agreement for England. This treaty provided for the expatriation of the subjects of either country after naturalization in the other and after a residence there of five years. Naturalized citizens returning to their former country could be held liable for offenses committed before their departure but otherwise they were to be treated exactly as were the native citizens of their adopted country. A residence of more than two years in the native country, however, was to be considered sufficient to forfeit the protection of the country of adoption. Finally the treaty was to remain in force a specified period and to be terminable by notice.[23]

In England the proposal was turned over to the law officers of the crown for examination. While they consulted, Thornton, spurred on by Seward's promises that a settlement of the naturalization question would bring propositions from the United States for a settlement of all the other difficulties, cabled urging action. To his disappointment, the law officers found many objections to the proposed agreement.[24] The stipulation, for instance, under which five years of residence plus naturalization in the foreign country operated to change allegiance, seemed to them to leave open a number of questions. What would be the status of a child born after the parents' naturalization and before the expiration of the five years, and what was to be the status of a child born after the lapse of five years and after naturalization whose parent returned to his native allegiance or emigrated to a third country? As a result of these and numerous other questions, Thornton was told that for reasons "legal

[21] Bancroft had written that all of his colleagues held it impossible for him to succeed and that if he did it would be the greatest diplomatic success in many years. Bancroft to Johnson, Jan. 24, 1868. Bancroft Papers held by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Evidently Bancroft had not taken sufficiently into consideration Bismarck's desire for American friendship at a time when his difficulties with France were developing.

[22] Thornton to Stanley, Mar. 10, 1868, F. O. 5/1356.

[23] Mar. 8, 1868, *ibid.* The treaty is printed in *Statutes at Large*, XV. 615–617.

[24] See Thornton's two cables, one in cipher, to Stanley, Mar. 11, 1868, F. O. 5/1129. The report of the law officers to Stanley is dated Mar. 11, 1868, F. O. 83/2225.

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rather than political" he could not be authorized to sign the treaty.[25]

On April 20 the House of Representatives passed the Banks bill, rewritten but still containing the retaliation feature, by the overwhelming vote of 104 to 4.[26] It is perhaps an indication of the public opinion of the time that eighty-one representatives, most of whom would normally have opposed the bill, refrained from voting. Aroused by this sweeping victory of the anti-English sentiment, Thornton cabled another urgent appeal to Stanley, informing him again of Seward's desire to conclude first a naturalization convention and then one on the San Juan question. He closed with the plea:

> If it be possible let me entreat you at once to seize the opportunity which may never recur. You know how impulsive these people are. Secretary of State says that after signing these two, he will make me a proposal for settlement of Alabama and British Claims.[27]

Thornton's pressure on the foreign office was not without effect. There is among its records an unsigned note, evidently written from Stanley to Hardy, secretary of the home office, declaring that it would be a great pity to give up the treaty without another attempt to reconcile the law officers to it. The letter suggests that they be asked to produce a draft treaty suitable for England and it answers some of their previous objections. To the officers directly, Stanley emphasized the importance of taking advantage of the favorable disposition of the American government and disposing of a question which might at any moment become "one of serious importance". He directed them to draft a treaty which would obviate the difficulties arising on the one hand out of the claims of the United States in behalf of naturalized citizens, and those on the other hand which would attend the acceptance of the Prussian treaty as it stood. Such a draft was drawn up but the many questions raised by the law officers concerning various points of their own handiwork finally forced Stanley to accept their recommendation for a more extended study of the matter.[28]

In the meantime, Stanley had informed Thornton in a cipher dispatch

[25] Stanley to Thornton, Mar. 12, 1868, F. O. 5/1126. Two days later Thornton was sent a detailed report of the objections of the law officers and instructed to tell Seward these were "a few of many" legal difficulties which prevented an Anglo-American treaty based on the treaty with the North German Confederation. F. O. 5/1356.

[26] *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., pt. 3, p. 2317.

[27] Mar. 14, 1868, F. O. 5/1129.

[28] These letters were dated March 15, 16, 1868, F. O. 5/1129, 83/2225. For the draft, dated March 20, 1868, together with the questions raised by the law officers, see F. O. 83/2225.

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that the draft of a naturalization treaty was being framed in England. Seward, therefore, was merely to be informed of the serious consideration which Her Majesty's government was giving to the question. In the transmission of this telegram four figures were changed and its meaning was thereby completely altered. Thornton read it as an order to form a draft treaty with Seward, an instruction which he promptly carried out. This draft, which followed in general the Bancroft-Bismarck treaty, reached Stanley on the same day as that of the law officers.[29] Thornton, of course, was not granted permission to sign but it seems clear that for the moment the mistake served to lessen the tension in Washington.

At this point, the agitation in England against the rule of perpetual allegiance reached the floors of Parliament. Here on March 20, Stanley, in stating the views of the government, made a sweeping and unequivocal repudiation of the age-old British doctrine. He emphasized his desire and his eagerness to settle the question with the United States but he added that various legal points must first be examined by legal authority. In fact, he believed so many questions of municipal law to be involved that before England could sign a treaty a substantial revision of British statutes was necessary.[30]

In Thornton the hope of the speedy conclusion of a treaty died hard. He continued to press the matter upon the foreign office, warning it that "delay might render all negotiations abortive both as to the naturalization question and other matters". To Adams, Stanley explained in some detail that since the treaty would involve extensive effects upon the laws of inheritance and succession as well as on collateral questions of property it would not be safe to proceed without a full report by qualified legal authorities. Since the law officers were being changed frequently, since many other questions were demanding their attention, and since the debate on the Irish Church seemed likely to end in the overthrow of the ministry, Adams thought the chances for a reasonably quick settlement very remote.[31]

This discouraging prospect seems to have been considered by Seward

[29] Stanley to Thornton, Mar. 16, 1868, F. O. 5/1126; Thornton to Stanley, Apr. 14, 1868, F. O. 5/1356; Thornton to Stanley, Mar. 20, 1868, F. O. 5/1356. See Seward to Adams, March 23, 1868, *For. Rel.*, 1868, pt. 1, p. 183, for a statement of Seward's plan for settling all the difficulties with England.

[30] Hansard, vol. CXC., cols. 1997–1999; Stanley to Thornton, Mar. 21, 1868, F. O. 5/1356.

[31] Thornton to Stanley, Mar. 27, 1868, F. O. 5/1129. Adams to Seward, Mar. 28, Apr. 1, 8, 1868, *For. Rel.*, 1868, pt. 1, p. 185, 188.

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as a test of his ingenuity. If particular sections of the Bancroft treaty raised questions on which the British must legislate in advance, was there not still the possibility of negotiating a simple treaty on the great questions involved, leaving the details for future discussion and settlement? Time, he felt, would not induce more liberal feelings in the United States than those then prevailing and the Irish Church question would probably decrease the chances of a satisfactory adjustment in England. On the other hand, if a solution was reached he was convinced that all other questions could be arranged "speedily and satisfactorily".[32]

When pressure of this type failed to have the desired effect he brought forward an even stronger inducement. In March and April the rumors of a projected Fenian raid on Canada became more definite than usual. Thornton, in consequence, requested the assurance of the American government that it would stop such a movement should it actually be attempted. Seward, in reply, scouted the danger of such an attack but he added that while the government would do its best to prevent it, he did not consider it expedient to make any written promises. On several occasions during this interview, moreover, Thornton was given to understand that if the questions of expatriation and naturalization could be agreed upon, one of the chief talking points of the Fenians would be removed "and the hands of the Government would be strengthened in repressing any hostile acts they might be meditating against Canada". Later, when word came of the appointment by the British of a special commission to study the naturalization laws, Seward hoped it would reach a satisfactory solution but he feared the delay would cause "serious embarrassment" to the United States. Indeed, it might "prove injurious to peace upon the Canadian border".[33]

This obvious attempt to bluff England into a treaty fooled Thornton not at all. Knowing the government to be quietly making preparations along the frontier and the State Department to be keeping a careful watch on the Fenians, he did not think Canada endangered despite Seward's refusal to commit himself. This conviction he passed on to Stanley.[34]

The views of the law officers on Seward's proposal for a simple treaty involving only the great principles of naturalization and expatriation were a repetition of their earlier reports on Seward's treaty suggestions. They pointed out, in addition, that the agreement of England to such a

[32] Thornton to Stanley, Apr. 13, 1868, F. O. 5/1356. Seward to Adams, Apr. 24, 1868, *For. Rel.*, 1868, pt. 1, p. 191.

[33] Thornton to Stanley, May 2, 1868, F. O. 5/1343; Seward to Thornton, Draft, June 9, 1868, Department of State, Notes to the British Legation, XIV. 360.

[34] Thornton to Stanley, June 15, 1868, F. O. 5/1343.

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treaty would probably be used at once in support of pleas by the United States for the release from jail of naturalized Americans who had come to Ireland to promote revolution. The advice of the law officers was to await the report of the commission then studying the law before any action was taken.[35] Parliament's adjournment at the end of July brought the negotiation to a standstill.

Although the conclusion of a treaty was impossible during the summer of 1868, the period was by no means unimportant in the citizenship controversy. The Fenian organization, it became evident, had fallen upon hard times. The ill-managed attempts to invade Canada in 1866 followed by the futile Jacmel expedition to Ireland had discredited its leaders and the constant friction among them had disgusted many of the members. In Ireland the agitation lessened and the release of untried prisoners claiming American citizenship went forward slowly. On May 22 Benjamin Moran, temporarily in charge of the American legation in London, reported the last of such prisoners known to Consul West had accepted his freedom, thus ending "the anxiety created by these troublesome cases". In June both Moran and Archibald informed their respective governments of Fenianism's imminent end.[36]

The twilight into which the movement seemed to have entered undoubtedly influenced the final disposition of the provocative bill fathered by General Banks. In the Senate its fate lay largely in the hands of Charles Sumner, chairman of the committee on foreign relations, and effort was not spared to win for it his support. His well-known views on slavery caused this question to be presented to him as the "twin brother" of that evil. Since he had been most instrumental in freeing "four millions of the children of God" it was only proper that he should lead the effort to secure equal protection to native and naturalized citizens traveling abroad. For this purpose the reprisal clause would be "most efficacious" and without it the bill would not be "worth a straw". Political factors also were suggested for his consideration. It would secure to the Republicans the support of the adopted citizens in the presidential contest then approaching and in subsequent contests. In fact, so Sumner was informed, had it been passed five or six weeks before the Republicans would have carried the Connecticut election.[37]

[35] Law officers to Stanley, June 1, 1868, F. O. 83/2225.

[36] Moran to Seward, May 22, June 10, 1868, *For. Rel.*, 1868, pt. 1, p. 203; Dept. State, Despatches, Great Britain, XCVI.; Archibald to Stanley, June 30 and Aug. 25, 1868, F. O. 5/1344.

[37] Charles E. St. Clair, a Washington newspaper man, to Sumner, Apr. 21, 1868, Sumner MSS., Harvard College Library, vol. CXLIV. Among others who urged the passage of the bill was Charles Munde, who had made himself spokesman for a large group of

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Sumner, to his credit, was not tempted.[38] He opposed the reprisal clause in committee and on the floor of the Senate and saw it finally replaced with a far less dangerous stipulation. The bill as finally passed provided in the cases of improper arrest and detention of American citizens in foreign lands that the President should report the facts to Congress after using all means not amounting to acts of war to secure the release of the prisoners.[39] Innocuous as this provision seemed when compared to the reprisal clause, it was still obvious that if the law were enforced without an acknowledgment by foreign governments of the principle of expatriation it contained the seeds of serious trouble.

For this reason American officials watched with interest the proceedings of the royal commission appointed to inquire into the laws of naturalization and allegiance. To their annoyance, the commissioners, oblivious or indifferent to the American desire for an early settlement, decided that London was no place in which to spend the summer. It had been the original hope of the commissioners to conclude their work before the hot weather. The majority of them favored a change of a liberal nature in the existing law, and Charles Abbott, shortly to become Lord Teterden, as secretary to the commission had collected and organized a vast amount of material dealing with the questions to be discussed.[40] It was the desire of Harcourt to end the evil of double allegiance that led him, on July 3, to suggest a change in the basis of the English law of allegiance from the traditional principle of the *jus soli* to the principle largely followed by the Continental countries, the *jus sanguinis*.[41] This caused so much discussion that the commission, despairing of finishing its work in the near future, adjourned until November. When it reconvened the members seem to have concluded that the easiest way to deal with Harcourt was to ignore his arguments and outvote him. From then on the work of the commission moved forward with less interruption, although the framing of the report took much longer than had originally been expected.

German-Americans in the discussion on the Bancroft treaty. His letter was dated June 18, 1868, *ibid.*

[38] He characterized the bill as "a proposal of unutterable barbarism, which, if adopted, would disgrace this country". *Works of Charles Sumner* (15 vols., Boston, 1870–1883), XII. 494.

[39] The law is printed in *Statutes at Large*, XV. 223–224.

[40] Moran informed Seward of the views of the members of the commission on June 12, 1868. *For. Rel.*, 1868, pt. 1, pp. 310–311. For the benefit of the commissioners the results of Abbott's researches were printed and bound under the title of *Naturalization and Allegiance*. They were added to the final report as an appendix. The report is printed in *Parl. Papers* [Command 4109], 1868–1869, *Reports*, vol. XXV.

[41] Minutes of the royal commission, June 12, 1868, F. O. 317/1.

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The resignation of Minister Adams in June and the appointment to his place of Reverdy Johnson, a senator with a long record of public service, brought no change in policy. In his instructions to the new minister, Seward referred to the citizenship issue as "the most important question" requiring attention. Johnson was to state frankly to Lord Stanley that until this difficulty should be removed it would be unavailing and inexpedient to attempt to settle any of the controversies existing between the two countries.[42]

Pressing these views on the British government brought no more success to Johnson than it had to Adams. In reply to a parliamentary question, Stanley publicly declared the negotiation of a treaty on the subject to be for the time being impossible.[43] This attitude led Seward to try once more to force the issue by use of a Fenian threat. An Irish-American named John O'Neil was at this time trying to revitalize the Fenian organization by engineering a raid on Canada. His preparations led Governor Monck of Canada to request the privilege of navigating the American waters of Lake Champlain as a measure of defense. Seward pleaded the lack of jurisdiction of the national government over the internal waters of the United States in categorically refusing the request.[44] On this point he was running counter to a decision of the Supreme Court but his ignorance, whether real or assumed, served the purpose of his diplomacy.[45] The mere fact of such a request, he added, would, in itself, create such a bad impression in the United States that he urged Monck to keep it "a profound secret".

Late in August he made the connection between the proposed raid and the desired treaty clear and definite. British consuls and other agents along the frontier, he wrote, were continually sending to the American government information of hostile designs against Canada, with the expectation that demonstrative measures would be taken to relieve their apprehensions. On the other hand,

> The entire inattention of Her Majesty's Government to our frequent and urgent representations concerning the naturalization question, and the irrita-

[42] Johnson's instructions were dated July 20, 1868, *For. Rel.*, 1868, pt. 1, p. 330. At the time of the Jacmel affair, Johnson, on the floor of the Senate, had declared England's continued maintenance of the doctrine of perpetual allegiance in the case of naturalized American citizens "would form just cause for war", an eventuality which he hoped would be avoided. *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., pt. 1, p. 269.

[43] Hansard, vol. CXCIII., col. 1281.

[44] Thornton to Monck, June 27, 1868, F. O. 5/1344.

[45] In the case of the *Genesee Chief* (12 Howard, 443), decided in 1851, Chief Justice Taney had stated that if water was navigable it was deemed to be public; and if public, it was regarded within the legitimate scope of the admiralty jurisdiction conferred by the Constitution.

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tions and exasperations which have attended the recent suspension of habeas corpus, render every form of expression, in reply to such complaints difficult and embarrassing for the Executive Authority.

This fact, concluded Seward, might be useful in engaging Stanley's attention to the naturalization question.[46]

Seward's cry of "Wolf", which had failed to alarm Stanley in the beginning, brought no results at all with repetition. Johnson, in consequence, sought another method of accomplishing Seward's purpose. Believing the English government genuinely desired a settlement, he endeavored to convince Stanley that action by Parliament was, after all, not necessary for the conclusion of a treaty. A naturalization convention, he suggested, might be drawn up which would be conditional on the passage by Parliament of an act to enforce its provisions.[47] Whether such a proceeding would have been considered a settlement sufficient to meet the requirements of his instructions is doubtful. In point of fact it was never put to the test, for Stanley rejected it.

At the same time Johnson requested of Seward a modification of his instructions which would allow him to negotiate on other questions before the final settlement of this controversy. Seward's reply bore testimony to the temper which prevailed in Congress. Such permission, he feared, would excite apprehension that the efforts to reach a settlement would prove unavailing, and thus "the existing popular anxiety would be increased to a height that might induce Congress to disapprove, and the Senate to reject, even the very arrangements which otherwise might have proved satisfactory in regard to the San Juan and claims questions".[48] Yet Seward was willing in case Johnson believed a proper treaty arrangement on naturalization could be made, to open concurrent negotiations upon the other two questions. Such negotiations, however, were not to be completed or the proceedings deemed obligatory until the matter of citizenship had been satisfactorily settled either by treaty or by law of Parliament. In this note is to be found the clearest and most compact statement of what America desired that the years of controversy had yet brought forth. The principles to be settled, declared Seward, consisted of

The right of every human being, who is neither convicted nor accused of crime, to renounce his home and native allegiance, and seek a new home and

[46] Seward to Johnson, Aug. 27, 1868, Dept. State, Instructions, Great Britain, XXI. 420–421.

[47] Stanley to Thornton, Sept. 19, 1868, *British Government Papers, North America,* no. 1, p. 6.

[48] *For. Rel.,* 1868, pt. 1, p. 350, 354–355.

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transfer his allegiance to any other nation that he may choose; and that having made and perfected that choice in good faith . . . he shall be entitled, from his new sovereign, to the same protection under the laws of nations that that sovereign lawfully extends to his native subjects or citizens.

On these principles, considerations of national rights and national dignity, every interest of civilization, and every sentiment of humanity demanded that the United States stand firm.[49]

While this dispatch was crossing the Atlantic, Johnson had a pleasant interview with Stanley. As a result of it he reported that the San Juan question and the Alabama claims would offer no difficulties whatsoever when once he began to negotiate on them and that the naturalization question would provide the easiest sailing of all. In a week or two he expected the protocol of a treaty to be drawn up substantially adjusting the matter as far as the British government could do so previous to the passage of such legislation as was deemed necessary.[50]

On October 9, the protocol, which purported "to place on record" the intentions of the two governments subject to the action of Parliament, was signed. Its main provision admitted the right of citizens of either power to expatriate themselves by naturalization in the other, and declared that when such naturalization had taken place they should be treated by their native country exactly as were the other citizens of the naturalizing power. Other articles dealt with the more specific details of the settlement and stipulated that until Parliament had revised the existing laws, the protocol should not go into effect. The importance of this last provision was discounted by Johnson who had the promise of Stanley and of those who might possibly control the government after the impending election, that the legislation would be promptly enacted.[51] Considering the settlement as practically arrived at, he quickly signed a protocol on the San Juan question. This protocol, in accordance with Seward's instructions, was not to be considered final until the earlier one became binding.

The naturalization protocol met with the enthusiastic approval of President Johnson and Seward who immediately suggested that the claims convention be hurried along. In response, on November 10, John-

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

[50] Johnson to Seward, Sept. 25, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 356.

[51] The protocol is printed in *For. Rel.*, 1868, pt. 1, pp. 359–360. *Cf.* p. 358. It should be noted that this protocol was more comprehensive than the treaty with the North German Confederation and the treaties with separate German states which had followed it. When England finally accepted the principle of the defeasibility of allegiance it was accepted completely.

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son signed a joint convention dealing with the claims of the citizens of either country against the other. This settlement, however, did not include the "indirect" claims of Americans against the British and for this and other reasons it was returned to London. With it went the promise that if England accepted Seward's suggested alterations, the United States would turn the naturalization and San Juan protocols or either of them into conventions which could be signed and laid before the Senate for ratification at once.[52]

Meanwhile the general election had gone badly for the Conservatives, Gladstone had succeeded Disraeli as prime minister, and Clarendon had again moved into the foreign office. Faced with exigencies, present and prospective, in England's foreign relations which gave him a growing appreciation of the value of a complete settlement with America, he indicated his desire to renew the negotiations. On January 14, 1869, two agreements were signed, one of which, under a liberal interpretation, met most of Seward's requirements as to the claims but did not clearly and definitely provide for the "indirect" damages, the other of which changed the San Juan protocol into a convention. These agreements and the naturalization protocol were submitted to the Senate on January 15.

That body, in the words of one writer, "brought a Kearsarge broadside to bear on the Alabama protocol and sunk it at the first volley",[53] but in executive session on April 13, it resolved to advise and consent to the negotiation of a treaty based on the naturalization protocol. The royal commission on naturalization had finally presented its report in February and Clarendon promised to push the necessary changes in the citizenship laws through Parliament during the session then in progress.[54]

In truth it was time some action was taken, for America was seeing a recrudescence of the bitterness shown toward England in 1867. The government was giving unofficial support to petitions to Great Britain for the release of Irish-Americans convicted of treason-felony in Ireland. New York politicans were taking part in huge mass meetings at which war with England was openly, and often violently, advocated.[55] O'Neil had so far matured his preparations for a Canadian invasion that during

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 364, 383.

[53] E. H. Kellogg, *Two Letters to General Grant on the Alabama Protocol* (Pittsfield, Mass., 1869), p. 10.

[54] Fish to Johnson, Apr. 19, 1869, Dept. State, Instructions, Great Britain, XXI. 542; Johnson to Fish, May 5, 1869, *ibid.*, Despatches, Great Britain, XCVIII.

[55] Seward to Johnson, Feb. 12, 1869, *ibid.*, Instructions, Great Britain, XXI. 519–520. For the meetings, see, for instance, New York *Herald*, Feb. 15, 1869, New York *World*, Aug. 3, 1869.

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the summer the government thought it advisable to increase its forces on the frontier, ostensibly to give them the benefit of cooler weather.[56] Feeling throughout America had been aroused over the claims negotiation and, in addition, the Irish vote was being sought in numerous local elections.

Unfortunately, action on the British laws of allegiance was easier to promise than to achieve. The report of the royal commission was clear and comprehensive but to some of its sections a minority of the commission seriously objected. Since the dissenters, led by Harcourt, planned to carry their fight to the floors of Parliament, there was the prospect of a long debate. For this reason Clarendon informed J. L. Motley, who had replaced Johnson as minister to Great Britain in May, that there would be no time for the legislation in question before the next session of Parliament.[57]

Hamilton Fish, who succeeded Seward in the State Department with the change of administration, adopted Seward's policy of making the settlement of all the questions at issue between England and America dependent upon a satisfactory naturalization treaty. He did, however, pursue his object with somewhat more tact. He expressed disappointment that Parliament was to be prorogued without the introduction of a measure to give effect to the naturalization protocol, but he added that he recognized the difficulties caused by the Irish Church bill and while it remained unsettled he would not press the question. During the recess, on the other hand, there would be plenty of time to prepare a bill for parliamentary action at the next session and Motley was to continue to urge this upon Clarendon until he was satisfied it would be done.[58] Clarendon, on his part, assured Motley that the bill would be ready as soon as Parliament met.

During the fall months Motley occupied himself with working for the release of the Irish-Americans still serving sentences in Irish jails for their complicity in previous revolutionary movements. The success which seemed to be attending his efforts abruptly left him when the situation in Ireland grew threatening in January and February of the new year. Although no outbreak occurred, any chance of the liberation of such prisoners for the time being disappeared.

[56] Thornton to Clarendon, Aug. 2, 1870, F. O. 5/1347. Thornton received information as to the precautionary measures of the government under a pledge of secrecy.

[57] Motley to Fish, June 12 and June 26, 1869, Dept. State, Despatches, Great Britain, IC. A memorandum was prepared by the foreign office setting forth in detail the reasons why the desired legislation was delayed. A copy of this was presented to Motley on July 5. For the original, see F. O. 5/1356.

[58] Dept. State, Instructions, Great Britain, XXII.

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During the latter month the long awaited legislation finally appeared in the House of Lords and on May 12 the royal assent incorporated it in the laws of the land. In the House of Commons Harcourt had made a futile attempt to graft his suggestion as to the *jus sanguinis* upon it, but Sir Roundell Palmer had caused the defeat of his motion by pleading the need of settling the difficulties with America rather than raising new ones.[59]

The passage of the law having removed all obstacles to a treaty on naturalization, the two countries lost not a day in the conclusion of one. The law officers had already given their approval to a draft treaty which on May 13 was signed by Clarendon and Motley.[60] It was little more than a restatement of the Johnson-Clarendon protocol in language slightly more precise. The only point left unsettled involved the manner of the renunciation of allegiance of persons who had been naturalized in either country before the conclusion of the treaty and who wished to retain their native allegiance. This was left for subsequent agreement since the negotiators did not desire to delay the signature by the discussion of administrative details. The treaty came before the Senate in secret session on the night of July 8 and without objection or discussion it was unanimously approved.[61] The ratifications were exchanged on August 10 and the treaty went into effect that day.

Thus, after eighty years of discussion and negotiation, the problem which had been in part responsible for the War of 1812 and which had helped to bring the two countries close to another conflict was finally solved. The solution represented a complete surrender to the position which the legislative and executive branches of the American government, in theory at least, had upheld from the first.

With some Fenians the hope of precipitating trouble between the two countries died hard. Late in May, O'Neil, after quarreling with the Fenian senate, undertook his long delayed invasion of Canada. As his troops were crossing the line, however, a United States marshal appeared on the scene of the battle. Without resistance he bundled O'Neil into his carriage and drove him away between the Fenian ranks to answer charges of violating the American neutrality laws.[62]

[59] The law is printed in *The Public General Statutes passed in 33d and 34th Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria* (London, 1879), pp. 166–176; Hansard, vol. CC., cols. 2020–2024.

[60] See law officers to Clarendon, May 7, 1870, F. O. 83/2226; and Motley to Fish, May 13, 1870, Dept. State, Despatches, Great Britain, CIII.

[61] From the report of Sumner to Thornton summarized in Thornton to Granville, July 11, 1870, F. O. 5/1357.

[62] Boston *Daily Advertiser*, May 26, 1870, p. 1, cols. 4, 5. This arrest was looked

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After this fiasco the power of the Fenians continued to decline. There was a brief flicker of interest when England finally pardoned the last of the Irish-American prisoners in January, 1871, and furnished them with passage across the Atlantic. Three different receptions for the first of the "martyrs" to arrive were planned by three different groups in New York. Three different reception committees on three different steamers met them as they sailed up the harbor. The returning "exiles", disgusted by this factionalism in the organization, refused all invitations declaring they would await the arrival of the rest of their comrades before submitting to a public reception. In Congress Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts engineered a resolution of welcome through the House of Representatives but in the Senate the resolution died in committee.[63] The fact was that the treaty of 1870 had removed the most dangerous weapon from the arsenal of the American Fenians.

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upon with suspicion by some Fenians who alleged that O'Neil put himself in the way of the marshal in order to be arrested. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1870, p. 1, col. 5.

[63] New York *Times*, Jan. 20, 1871, p. 1, cols. 6, 7; *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 3 sess., pt. 2, p. 838.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Unprinted Public Archives of the Post-Colonial Period Their Availability [1]

Unprinted public archives are manuscript books, papers, documents or records made and received in pursuance of law by the officers of states, counties, cities, towns, and villages in the transaction of public business. They record the operations of each public office and the activity of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government.

Public archives include legal records as well as many others, which, though made in pursuance of law, are not commonly designated as legal. As legal institutions and practices result from the action of human wisdom upon human experience with social and economic conditions, American legal history cannot be written or understood apart from American social and economic history. Therefore, it is perhaps impossible accurately to differentiate between public archives and legal records and between history and legal history.

Public archives are the chief monuments of the past. A stupendous mass has survived a host of devastating forces. Post-colonial archives differ from those of the colonial period in age, quantity, and content. Their ever-increasing volume complicates the task of custodian and investigator. Recent surveys indicate that the mass of local archives in New Jersey increased about fifty per cent in the decade prior to 1929 and the chronological half-way point in the entire mass of Federal archives is the year 1917.[2]

These surviving public archives, mostly in unpublished manuscript form, challenge the legal scholarship of the United States to trace the uncharted evolution of American legal institutions and practices. Monographs based on the scholarly use of unpublished court minutes and dockets, of equity, probate, town, and legislative records, of pleadings, bail pieces, executions, bonds, writs, depositions, petitions, rules of practice, briefs, and miscellaneous legal papers would facilitate the writing of an integrated history of American jurisprudence.

[1] Paper read before the American Historical Association at Urbana, December 28, 1933, and before the Association of American Law Schools at Chicago on December 29.

[2] Printed leaflet, August 1, 1929, issued by the Public Record Office, Trenton, N. J. Thomas P. Martin, The National Archives Building, *The Historical Outlook*, April, 1933.

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The legal historian must locate the legal records before he can use them. Historians and archivists have compiled and printed many surveys or inventories which list by name the individual volumes, files, and boxes of manuscripts, and describe their location, custody, condition, and content. They are valuable as guides to those who would explore the primary sources of American history.

Surveys of unprinted state archives, compiled under the supervision of the Public Archives Commission, were published in the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association from 1900 to 1917 for all of the forty-eight states except Arizona, Mississippi, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, and West Virginia. A report on the South Carolina and early Charleston archives has just been prepared for publication. With the exception of those for Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Texas, these surveys are reasonably comprehensive, in some cases exhaustive. They are the most valuable printed guides to American state archives of the period before 1900. For one-third of the states there are additional guides which are not too obsolete or general in treatment for practical use by investigators.

The entire field of state archives in three Southern states has been surveyed: Alabama in *Publications of the Alabama Historical Society, Miscellaneous Collections*, I. (1901); Arkansas in *Publications of the Arkansas Historical Association,* I. (1906); and Mississippi in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* V. (1902). For Mississippi there is also the *Official Guide to the Historical Materials in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History* (1914).

The remaining guides to state archives are more limited in scope. For Maryland, useful information is to be found in Lewis Mayer, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts . . . and an Account of the Library of the Maryland Historical Society* (1854), *Report of the Rev. Dr. Ethan Allen, in relation to the Records of the Executive Department* . . . (1861), and *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Printed Matter in the Possession of the Court of Appeals of Maryland* (1926). Two publications describe state archives in the Virginia State Library at Richmond, *Calendar of Transcripts, including the Annual Report of the Department of Archives and History* (1905), compiled by John P. Kennedy, and *A List of Manuscripts recently deposited in the Virginia State Library by the State Auditor* (1914), compiled by Earl G. Swem. For South Carolina archives in the custody of the Historical Commission there is the *Report of the Historical Commission of South Carolina* (1906). And for Kentucky,

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Catalogue Records, Documents, Papers, etc.: Kentucky Governors, 1792–1926, lists the archives of the governor's office now deposited with the Kentucky Historical Society.

Six Northern states have printed guides to portions of their state archives, supplementary to those published in the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association. For Connecticut there are two works, Leverett M. Hubbard and Charles J. Hoadly, *Report of the Secretary of State and State Librarian to the General Assembly on Ancient Court Records* (1889) and *A Select List of Manuscripts in the Connecticut State Library, September 30, 1916* (1920). A mimeographed *Calendar of Records in the Custody of the Public Archives Commission of the State of Delaware, December 1, 1932,* has been issued by the Commission at Dover. For Massachusetts, there are the *Report to the Legislature of Massachusetts . . . upon the Condition of the Records, Files, Papers, and Documents in the Secretary's Department* (1885) and John H. Edmonds, *The Massachusetts Archives* (1922); for New Jersey, Wm. Nelson, *First Report of the Public Record Commission of New Jersey* (1899); for New York, *Catalogue of Records of the Office of the Secretary of State with Information pertaining to the Office* (1898), compiled by F. G. Jewett, and *Annotated List of the Principal Manuscripts in the New York State Library* (1899); and for West Virginia, *First* (1906) and *Second* (1908) *Biennial Report of the Department of Archives and History of the State of West Virginia.*

In the West, three reports distinguish Iowa as the possessor of state archives notably complete and well administered: Benjamin F. Shambaugh, *A Report on the Public Archives* (1901), *A Second Report on the Public Archives* (1907), and Cassius C. Stiles, *Public Archives: a Manual for their Administration in Iowa* (1928). In the *Michigan History Magazine,* II. (1918) are reports on the archives in the executive department and the department of state of Michigan, and for New Mexico there is Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico,* 2 vols. (1914).

Further aids in locating unpublished state archives are the printed reports on current accessions by their various legal custodians; an account of the distribution of Florida manuscripts in the *Florida Historical Society Quarterly,* July, 1931; and serial articles in the *North Carolina Historical Review,* October, 1926-October, 1930, on the preservation of history in the states of the South, and in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* I.-VII. (1914–1920) on historical activities in the states of the Mississippi Valley.

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The archives of counties, cities, towns, and villages in the United States have been surveyed with far less thoroughness than those of the states. However, there are helpful guides available. In the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association from 1900 to 1909 were published state-wide surveys of county records in Arkansas and Delaware, and of county and town records in Connecticut, Maine, and Rhode Island; and fragmentary surveys of county and town records in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee.

The best examples of local archival surveys are Owen C. Coy, *Guide to the County Archives of California* (1919) and Theodore Calvin Pease, *The County Archives of the State of Illinois* (1915). Several publications rank Massachusetts with California and Illinois as the three states whose local archives have been best inventoried: Carroll D. Wright, *Report on the Custody and Condition of the Public Records of Parishes, Towns, and Counties* (1889), Robert T. Swann, *Second Report on the Custody and Condition of the Public Records of Parishes, Towns, and Counties* (1890), subsequent annual reports of the State Record Commissioner, *Catalogue of Records and Files in the Office of the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court for the County of Suffolk,* revised edition (1897), the first *Report of the Record Commissioners* (1876) of the city of Boston, and an account of archives in the office of the city clerk and registrar in the introduction of Justin Winsor, *The Memorial History of Boston,* I. (1880).

Connecticut and New York have useful local surveys available. For Connecticut there is the *Report of the Temporary Examiner of Public Records, 1904,* and the State Library has published *Connecticut Probate Districts* (1928) and *Connecticut Town Records* (1930). For New York there are several guides: the survey of the New York County archives by Victor Hugo Paltsits in I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island,* VI.; the introduction of the *Index to the Public Records of the County of Albany, 1630–1894,* I. (1902), compiled by Wheeler B. Melius; Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris, *A Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History, 1600–1800, in the City of New York* (1929), and a series of surveys published from 1917 to 1922 by the Division of Archives and History of the records of Suffolk County, Kingston, Huntington, Smithtown, Ballston Spa, and Marcellus.

Less satisfactory surveys of local archives are printed for Alabama in *Publications of the Alabama Historical Society, Miscellaneous Collections,* I. (1901); for Delaware in the mimeographed *Calendar of Records*

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in the Custody of the Public Archives Commission of the State of Delaware, December 1, 1932; for Mississippi in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* V. (1902); for New Jersey in *Condition of the Public Records in the State of New Jersey* (1921); and for North Carolina in *Handbook of County Records deposited with the North Carolina Historical Commission* (1925).

The custodians of state archives in Minnesota, North Carolina, and perhaps other states have more or less complete manuscript catalogues and lists of local archives in their respective states.

Even a superficial acquaintance with archival economy and historical scholarship in the United States confirms two observations. First, the public archives in the main are unsurveyed, uncared for, and unused, no state having achieved that degree of archival care and availability which is the ideal of American archivists and the practice in Canada and the countries of Western Europe. Second, the location, care, and availability of public archives depend chiefly upon state legislation. State law imperiously directs the legal or historical investigator to the places where his indispensable source materials may be found and determines the conditions attending them and his use of them. At the present time state laws prescribe three general methods for the administration of state archives.[3]

[3] The following citations are to the laws of the states relating to the custody and care of public archives: Alabama, *The Code of Alabama* (1907), ch. 23; Arizona, *The Revised Code of Arizona, 1928,* ch. 2, art. 2; ch. 69; Arkansas, *A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas* (1921), ch. 82; California, *The Statutes of California, 1889,* ch. 289; Colorado, *The Compiled Laws of Colorado, 1921,* chs. 5, 164; Connecticut, *General Statutes of Connecticut, Revision of 1930,* secs. 323, 1057–1066; Delaware, *Laws of the State of Delaware, 1917,* ch. 57; Florida, *The Compiled General Laws of Florida, 1927,* title III., ch. II., art. 2, 110–124; Georgia, *1922 Supplement to Park's Annotated Code of the State of Georgia,* title 17; Idaho, *The Compiled Statutes of Idaho* (1919), ch. 10, art. 2; ch. 57; Illinois, *Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois* (1933), ch. 128; Indiana, *Laws of the State of Indiana, 1925,* ch. 58; Iowa, *Acts and Joint Resolutions . . . of the Thirty-Sixth General Assembly of the State of Iowa,* ch. 163; Kansas, *Revised Statutes of Kansas, 1923,* ch. 75, art. 27; Kentucky, *Carroll's Kentucky Statutes, 1930,* chs. 74a, 115; Louisiana, *General Statutes of the State of Louisiana, 1932,* secs. 7329–7336 and 7825–7893; Maine, *The Revised Statutes of the State of Maine* (1930), ch. 4; Maryland, *The Annotated Code of the Public General Laws of Maryland* (1924), art. 41, secs. 36–41 and 70–83; art. 54, various secs.; Massachusetts, *The General Laws of . . . Massachusetts* (1921), ch. 9; Michigan, *The Compiled Laws of the State of Michigan, 1929,* ch. 145; Minnesota, *Mason's Minnesota Statutes, 1927,* secs. 2535–2541, 8008–1, 8008–2; Mississippi, *Mississippi Code of 1930,* ch. 78; Missouri, *The Revised Statutes of the State of Missouri, 1929,* chs. 71, 109; Montana, *The Revised Code of Montana of 1921,* chs. 10, 117; Nebraska, *Compiled Statutes of Nebraska, 1929,* ch. 82; Nevada, *Nevada Compiled Laws, 1929,* secs. 4680–4689, 7411–7412; New Hampshire, *The Public Laws of the State of New Hampshire* (1925), ch. 14; New Jersey, *Cumulative Supplement to the Compiled Statutes of New*

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First, the secretary of state is the legal custodian of the records of his own office and sometimes those of the legislature and the governor's office. In the absence of a general law, the state archives are kept in the scattered offices of their origin. In Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wyoming, the state archives are in the secretary of state's office and in the various offices of their origin. In the main such is the case in seven additional states, though some records are also in the custody of the state library in New York, the historical society in Kentucky, Louisiana, New Hampshire, Oregon, and South Dakota, and the land office and historical society in Maryland. Except in California and Massachusetts, where special divisions of archives have been established in the office of secretary of state, little real progress has been made or may be expected under this method of administration.

In the second form of administration, concentration of non-current state archives is authorized, with the permission of the various state officers, as one of the functions of an existing state agency: the State Library in Connecticut, Indiana, Maine, Texas, and Virginia; the historical society in Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio, and Wisconsin; the secretary of state in Illinois; the department of education in Tennessee; and the department of business control in Washington. The laws are vague or qualified with respect to centralization of state archives in the historical societies of Oklahoma and Utah, the Museum of New Mexico, and the department of education in Pennsylvania. This second

Jersey, 1911–1924, secs. 167–1 to 167–19; New Mexico, *New Mexico Statutes* (1929), ch. 91; New York, *Consolidated Laws of New York* (1930), ch. 15, art. 44; North Carolina, *Public Laws . . . of North Carolina . . . 1907,* ch. 714; North Dakota, *Supplement to the 1913 Compiled Laws of North Dakota* (1926), secs. 121, 380–384; Ohio, *Throckmorton's 1930 Annotated Code of Ohio,* sec. 154–59, ch. 2; Oklahoma, *Compiled Statutes of Oklahoma, 1921,* chs. 35, 69; Oregon, C. P. Olson, *Oregon Laws* (1920), secs. 2706–2731, and *Oregon Laws, 1931,* ch. 85; Pennsylvania, *1928 Cumulative Supplement to Digest of Pennsylvania Statute Law, 1920,* sec. 50a–1305, and *Laws of . . . Pennsylvania . . . 1919,* pp.242–247; Rhode Island, *General Laws of Rhode Island, Revision of 1923,* chs. 21, 36, 42; South Carolina, *Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1932,* secs. 2231–2241; South Dakota, *The South Dakota Revised Code, 1919,* secs. 5331, 9856–9926; Tennessee, *The Code of Tennessee, 1932,* secs. 188–191, 2271–2278, *Public Acts . . . 1919,* ch. 76, and Philip M. Hamer, The Preservation of Tennessee History, *North Carolina Historical Review,* April, 1929; Texas, *Revised Civil Statutes of the State of Texas* (1925), title 89; Utah, *The Compiled Laws of the State of Utah, 1917,* secs. 5357–5360, 5694–5712; Vermont, *The General Laws of Vermont, 1917,* chs. 23, 24; Virginia, *The Code of Virginia, 1930,* secs. 355a, 3387a; Washington, *Session Laws of the State of Washington . . . 1909,* ch. 38; *ibid., 1921,* ch. 7; West Virginia, *The West Virginia Code of 1932,* ch. 29, art. 1; Wisconsin, *Wisconsin Statutes, 1927,* ch. 44; Wyoming, *Wyoming Revised Statutes, 1931,* secs. 103–1001 to 103–1010, 109–202.

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method has produced extensive centralization in Connecticut, Kansas, Illinois, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Virginia, and some results in the other states. However, an existing state agency may subordinate or mismanage its archival function. The function of preserving and administering the public archives of a state is sufficient to engage the attention of a distinct state agency.

In the third method of administration, centralization of non-current state archives is authorized in a separate, independent state agency: a department in Alabama, Georgia, Iowa, Mississippi, and West Virginia; and a commission in Arkansas, Delaware, Michigan, New Jersey, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Centralization has proceeded far in all of these states except New Jersey, especially in Iowa, Mississippi, and North Carolina.

With respect to local archives, the law authorizes local officers to deposit their non-current records with the official custodian of state archives in Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and West Virginia. In Kentucky, county officials may deposit their non-current records with the Kentucky Historical Society; in New York, with the department of education; and in Rhode Island, with the secretary of state. Illinois is unique in that any county official may deposit old records with the State Historical Library, the University Library, the State Historical Society, or any historical society in his county. The laws of New Mexico, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Utah are vague or qualified with respect to the centralization of local archives. In general, existing local archives are in the offices of their origin. No serious effort for their centralization has been made except in Connecticut, Delaware, and North Carolina. In Virginia the State Library has assembled some local archives and a large collection of photostatic reproductions of selected classes from the older counties.

The law provides for state supervision of records in the local repositories of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. State supervision has achieved for Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and Rhode Island the best practices in the United States for the care of local archives.

Clearly the trend of state legislation is toward public records laws, a central repository for the non-current records of state and in some cases local archives, and effective state supervision of the making and care of state and local archives in the offices of their origin. Though most of the

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states are still without sound archival laws and practices, the improvement in both has been remarkable since 1900.

Public records laws should define archives, designate their legal custodians, require the use of durable ink and paper, insure the records against deterioration and fire and theft, prohibit their abuse and destruction, authorize their recovery from private possession, require their delivery by retiring officers to their successors, and provide for their easy availability to investigators. A state commissioner of public records should have power to examine the public archives, report on their condition, and enforce the public records law. All state officers should be authorized to transfer their non-current records to a central depot, whose administration in the light of the best archival practices in Europe, Canada, and the United States should be by a distinct, independent state agency. The system of state supervision and local custody of local archives should be supplemented by the grant of authority to local officials to deposit their non-current records in the state depot. There can be no objection to this procedure, if their transfer is necessary for their preservation and not too inconvenient to the people of the local community. The essential features of sound archival administration are a central repository for state archives and effective state supervision of local archives.

The writing of American legal history is dependent upon the surviving mass of legal records whose very existence, care, and availability depend upon state law. Legislatures must be prodded to action. Lawyers comprise a large proportion of their membership. This offers a favorable opportunity to legal historians, law professors, and lawyers to promote effective legislation for the preservation of public archives whose availability and use are necessary to the historiography of American life and jurisprudence.

A. R. Newsome.

The North Carolina Historical Commission.

Zephaniah Swift and the Folwell Edition of the Laws of the United States

A succession of curious and disconcerting allusions to a "Swift's edition" of the laws of the United States, which recently came to the writer's attention, has appeared sufficiently important to merit an inquiry concerning its identity.[1] The references in question were first uncovered

[1] In the preparation of this note generous and material assistance has been rendered by Mr. Fred W. Shipman, Department of State, and by Mr. John T. Vance, law librarian, Library of Congress.

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in the correspondence of Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State in the administrations of Presidents Washington and John Adams. In a letter to Judge William McGuire, of Mississippi Territory, July 24, 1798, Pickering observed that his correspondent would "find [the Northwest Ordinance] at the end of the second volume of Swift's edition of the laws of the United States, and at the end of the first volume of the laws printed in 1791".[2] On August 31 of the same year he also wrote to Governor Winthrop Sargent, who had recently been appointed as chief executive in Mississippi Territory: "At the same time were sent . . . twenty sets of the laws of the U. States; those during President Washington's administration, (Swift's edition) in three volumes bound; those of the two Sessions of the present Congress, in pamphlets."[3] But the foregoing relevant passages do not represent isolated or fortuitous expressions. An examination of the early decisions of the United States Supreme and Circuit courts and of the State Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, as reported by Dallas,[4] reveals references which, on a cursory view, are of an astonishing nature—there having been found embodied in the textual matter of that version of the decisions no less than twenty-five direct volume and page citations to "Swift's edition" of the laws.[5] It is submitted, therefore, that the title in question has received the sanction of high legal authority.

The point of this inquiry, then, was to determine whether such a work as Swift's edition of the laws of the United States existed at any time and is now lost, and thus unknown to us, or whether the references may be interpreted as pertaining to some known contemporary collection. At the outset of the investigation it appeared that we were con-

[2] Pickering Papers, VIII. 614 (Massachusetts Historical Society).

[3] Domestic Letters, XI., Archives of the Department of State. Similar allusions are found in J. W. Conby, clerk of the House of Representatives, to the Secretary of State, November 22, 1797 (Printing and Distribution of the Laws, 1789–1822, Arch. Dept. State) and in Jacob Wagner, clerk in the Department of State, to Samuel L. Mitchell, November 5, 1803 (Dom. Letters, XIV., Arch. Dept. State).

[4] A. J. Dallas, *Reports of Cases ruled and adjudged in the Several Courts of the United States, and of Pennsylvania, held at the seat of the Federal Government* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1798–1799).

[5] 2 Dall. 302(1794), 371, 374(1797), 382(1799), 383(1797), 389, 390, 396(1798); 3 Dall. 17, 18, 28, 34(1795), 447, 454 (1799), 467, 468, 472(1798), 513(1799); 4 Dall. 1, 49, 52(1799), 312(1804), 460, 461(1806). In the reprint of the early volumes of the *U. S. Reports*, issued by the Banks Publishing Company, the citations to Swift have been changed to refer to *U. S. Statutes*. In comparing the reprint with the Lawyers' edition of the *U. S. Supreme Court Reports*, it is found that in the latter the citations revert to "Swift's edit". As for instance, Armstrong *v.* Carson (2 Dall. 302) is cited in the reprint as "1 U. S. Stat. 88" and in the Lawyers' edition it is cited as "1 vol. 67, Swift's edit".

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fronted with a first-class mystery. Existing lists of editions of the early statutes were found to be too fragmentary to be of any considerable service in the quest, and it was therefore necessary to rely upon other forms of evidence. There have been, however, many compilers and printers, and many editions, of one character and another, of the laws of the United States[6]—indeed more than have ever been catalogued and some of which have disappeared. The larger portion of these issues fell within the group of unofficial publications. Before 1795 the statutory provision as to printing the laws was permissive, the only requirement being that the printer should compare his proof with the original rolls in the office of the Secretary of State.[7] The session laws, issued in small volumes or pamphlets at the end of each session of Congress, belong to this class in the early years. Defining an official publication of the laws, which was not undertaken until 1796, as one issued under the direct authority of Congress and at the public charge, there have been but four such editions in the entire history of the nation.[8] The only one of these authorized versions with which we are concerned in the present instance is the Folwell edition, the earliest in the sequential order.

Although at first view the setting of the sundry citations in question would seem to characterize the purported edition by Swift as an official publication, the records of Congress disclose nothing with reference to the authorization of a work under such an editor or publisher. It is a safe assumption to make, therefore, that no edition bearing the name of Zephaniah Swift was ever issued. But the theory was at once suggested that he was the compiler and editor of what we know as Folwell's work, a fact which would have been known to Pickering and Dallas, and to the lawyers and judges of that period, but not necessarily known to us. The application of the usual canons of historical criticism to the Folwell edition, however, provided no clue of that nature. The view was first derived from the disclosure that no references to Folwell's edition are embodied in the early decisions of the courts as reproduced in Dallas's *Reports*,[9] and from the additional circumstance that each citation referred

[6] See *Checklist of United States Public Documents, 1789–1909* (3d ed., 1911), I. 957–972, for as complete a list as is available.

[7] Resolution approved February 18, 1791, 1 *U. S. Stat.*, 224.

[8] The Folwell edition (3 vols., 1797, subsequently extended to six volumes, to 1815); the Bioren and Duane edition (10 vols., 1815–1845); the Little, Brown and Company edition (17 vols., 1845–1873); the State Department edition (since 1873).

[9] This form of citation is known, however, to have been occasionally used in later years, as in Graydon's *Abridgment* (Harrisburg, 1803), page 1, note, and in Ingersoll's *Digest* (Philadelphia, 1803), page 1. A single reference citation to Folwell has also been found in the text of the decision in Polk's Lessee *v.* Hill, Windel, and others, rendered in 1811 (2 Tenn. 508, Cooper's edition).

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to above coincides exactly with the corresponding volume and page of Folwell. It was further conjectured that Dallas, who prepared the manuscript of the *Reports* for the printer after 1796, inserted references to the new compilation of the statutes which carried Folwell's name on the title-page, and which was issued from the press in 1797.[10] Such would have been the natural procedure of an editor, and, if true, would explain the citations to Swift which are found in Dallas's version of the three decisions of the courts which were rendered in 1794 and 1795,[11] before the appearance of Folwell.

In the course of the investigation which followed the above findings certain documents were discovered which throw new light upon the manner of the production of Folwell and which link Zephaniah Swift definitely with that work. In establishing this connection evidence of first importance is found in a letter from Swift to Secretary Pickering, May 31, 1796,[12] at the time the laws were being prepared for publication by direction of Congress:

To the Hon^{ble} Timothy Pickering Esquire
Secretary of State of the United States
Sir

I have made Contracts[13] for the paper, printing and binding of an Edition of the Laws of the United States As the work progresses money will be wanting to defray the expence and as I cannot be at Philadelphia I have authorized Robert Porter Esq^{r} of this City to draw on you for the necessary Sums as they occur. I will thank you to answer his drafts on my account which shall be the same as mine and shall apply on the contract I have made for publishing an edition of the Laws of the United States.

I have directed John Custin the Bookbinder, to deliver the Books as fast as any considerable quantities are bound, to your order. It would oblige me if you would direct some person to examin them and if any should be found not bound agreably to my contract with him, (which is the same I have made with you) that such books be refused and he directed to bind the same agreably to contract—

I am Sir with the greatest Respect and esteem your most obedient Servant.

ZEPHANIAH SWIFT

Philadelphia May 31st 1796.

[10] On the verso of page 477 of the third volume is a statement by Timothy Pickering vouching for the authority and correctness of the edition, dated March 29, 1797. This indicates that the volumes did not actually appear until this date or later, although the imprint date is 1796. See also note 17.

[11] Armstrong *v.* Carson's Executors (2 Dall. 302), U. S. *v.* Hamilton (3 Dall. 17, 18), and Bingham *v.* Cabbot (3 Dall. 28, 34). The test of comparing the Dallas citations with the original decisions could not be made, since the primary papers have not been located.

[12] Printing and Distribution of the Laws, 1789–1822, Arch. Dept. State.

[13] The contracts referred to in the above letter have not been found.

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A second significant piece of evidence is embodied in the following letter:[14]

Department of State June 23, 1796.

Zephaniah Swift Esq[r]
Sir

M[r] Folwell, as I have desired, brought me a specimen of his printing. The sheet was a part of the constitution. I remarked that it was printing in the same form as the copy, without any marginal notes of the contents of the articles and sections. The Constitution, it is true, is so short as presently to be run over with the eye; still I think it would have been better to have noted the contents in the margin. Most of the laws are shorter than the Constitution; yet the contents of the sections are marked in the margin. We particularly conversed on this point as it respected the *treaties,* in which if the marginal notes of the contents of the several articles were omitted, I should deem the edition to be materially deficient. I must intreat you to attend to this; indeed I considered it as a matter agreed on between us—Did you ever examine the marginal contents of the laws, to see whether they were in all cases sufficiently clear and exact?

I am very respectfully Sir, &c.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

In the only letter which has been found addressed to Richard Folwell the Secretary of State offers further suggestions relative to the contemplated publication of the laws:[15]

Department of State Sept[r] 22, 1796.

M[r] Richard Folwell
Sir

I desire you to print the edition of the laws you have in hand, according to the most correct edition, printed by Childs & Swaine,[16] which the Chief Clerk in this office has now described to you. If in that edition any words are *spelt* erroneously, correct them to the true spelling: understanding the *true spelling* to be conformable to the usage of English Classic authors, altho' not agreeable to more modern practice, particularly of Doctor Johnson.

[14] Pickering Papers, XXVI. 129 (Mass. Hist. Soc.).

[15] Dom. Letters, IX., Arch. Dept. State.

[16] This refers to the publications by Francis Childs and John Swaine, whose work was done with the approval of the Secretary of State, under the permissive resolution of Congress of February 18, 1791 (1 *U. S. Stat.,* 224). Two volumes were published by this firm embodying the laws of the first Congress: one contains the acts of all three sessions in one small volume, undated; the other contains the acts of the second session of the first Congress also undated. The imprint of the latter reads: "New York: Printed by Francis Childs and John Swaine, Printers to the Congress of the United States"; it is a quarto. A copy of each volume is in the Library of the Department of Justice. In 1795 two volumes were printed by Francis Childs (Swaine having died Nov. 23, 1794), covering the second session of the third Congress, and the first session of the fourth Congress (see *Checklist,* pp. 957–958). It may be mentioned, that although the Childs and Swaine publications are recommended as models, there is no correspondence as to pages.

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If in attempting corrections, especially in the languages of our treaties with foreign powers, a shadow of doubt arises on the meaning of the words, you will apply to this office, that recourse may be had to the originals.

I am Sir your ob. serv.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

To this array of evidence, which establishes beyond cavil the connection of Swift with the work of Folwell, there may be added further proof. Among the memoranda in the archives of the Department of State are two papers relating to the publication in question which are significantly indorsed, respectively, as follows: "certificate M^r^ Swift's edition 23 March 1797" and "certificates given M^r^ Swift 29 March 1797—Editor of the Laws".[17] In the light of the facts thus far assembled, therefore, and in view of the reasonable assurance that there was but one official edition of the laws printed before 1800, it is plain that the foregoing references are to Swift as editor of the so-called Folwell edition. Furthermore, not only did he compile and edit the relevant papers for the three volumes which were issued in 1797, but there is evidence that he also prepared the index, a fact disclosed by the following advertisement in the *New World* (Philadelphia) of May 1, 1797:

FOLWELL'S EDITION. Just published. By Mathew Carey, Young, Mills & Son, Henry and Patrick Rice, and Robert Campbell & Co. LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES. From the commencement of the federal government, to the end of the last session of congress, which terminated March 3, 1797. In three volumes. Price—six Dollars. This edition published under an order of the congress of the United States . . . . in the present edition, there is one copious, luminous index, compiled by Zephaniah Swift, Esq., referring to all the volumes, and comprising in itself a complete digest of all the laws of the United States.[18]

With this the full extent of Swift's contribution to the first official publication of the laws of the United States is revealed. That he was qualified by training and experience to supervise an official compilation of the Federal statutes is evident. He was a member of Congress from Connecticut in 1793–1797, and is known to have been a member of the committee of the House of Representatives which framed the bill for

[17] Printing and Distribution of the Laws, 1789–1822, Arch. Dept. State. In the same collection of unbound papers is the following certificate, signed by Zephaniah Swift, March 29, 1797: "I hereby certify and declare, That I have collated the acts of the 1^st^ second, third, and fourth Congress and the treaties made by the United States with other nations with the original Rolls deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, consisting of three volumes printed by Richard Folwell, and have found them conformable therewith excepting as Errata which I have this day presented to the Secretary of State, and which is annexed to a certificate signed by him and published with the said laws."

[18] Similar advertisements were found in the *Aurora General Advertiser* (Philadelphia) of the same and later dates.

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printing the laws.[19] He had recently compiled and published *A System of the Laws of the State of Connecticut*,[20] and subsequent to his service in Congress he was a member of the supreme court of Connecticut, serving as chief justice from 1806 to 1819. That the first official edition of the laws was known contemporaneously as Swift's has already been suggested. But his connection with that publication has been forgotten with the passing years. One explanation of this phenomenon is found in the practice of bibliophiles, in referring to early Americana, to cite the different editions after the imprint and the name of the printer. This custom is understandable when we remember that much of the published material of earlier times was of varying editions of standard and classical works. It often happened that the early printer was compiler and editor of his own publications, and many times he was the author as well. In the present instance Folwell was merely the printer of the work which popularly bears his name. Yet nowhere in the published work does the name of the editor and compiler appear; nor does any biographical sketch of Swift credit him with his important achievement. He is indeed "the forgotten man".

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

Washington, D. C.

[19] *Annals*, 3 Cong., 2 sess., col. 1229. The reports of this committee are printed in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 114, 122, and the statute in question, which directed the Secretary of State to cause to have printed a complete edition of the laws, is in 1 *U. S. Stat.*, 443.

[20] In 2 vols. (Windham, Conn., 1795–1796). This was subsequently revised and enlarged under the title of *Digest of the Laws of the State of Connecticut* (2 vols., New Haven, 1822–1823).

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DOCUMENTS

An Unpublished Letter of John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's

THE following letter, hitherto unpublished, from John Colet to Christopher Urswick, dated at Rome, April 1, 1493, has been preserved on the first page of a manuscript copy of Aeneus Sylvius's *Historia Bohemica,* at present in the possession of Senator David A. Reed of Pennsylvania, who purchased it in January, 1932, from the library of Philip Kerr, marquis of Lothian. It was brought to my attention through the kindness of Professor Preserved Smith of Cornell University, for whom Senator Reed had had a photostatic copy made.

From the wording of the text, it is evident that the letter was originally sent with a printed copy of the *Historia Bohemica,* probably of the first edition printed at Rome in 1475. The volume in which the letter now appears is, however, entirely in manuscript, both the letter and the body of the work being written in the same fine clerkly hand. It shows every evidence of being the work of a professional scribe of about the period in which the letter was first written. The most reasonable explanation of this rather startling fact is obvious enough. The printed book, still rather rare in England, was probably copied *in toto,* including the letter written on the flyleaf. The copying, indeed, may well have been done at the command of Urswick himself, who, as the letter indicates, preferred manuscript to printed books in his library. On this point, Colet evidently disagreed with him. The difference of opinion was typical of the period when printing was still new, the wealthy dilettante preferring the handsomer manuscript, while the professional scholar saw more clearly the value and convenience of the printed work.

Aside from the interest attached to any unpublished correspondence from the pen of the famous dean of St. Paul's, and the evidence it gives of the scholarly interests and the early friendship of Colet and Urswick, the letter is of unusual value because of the information it affords regarding a little known period in the life of both the writer and the recipient.

Few English scholars of the pre-Reformation period have attracted more attention from later historians or were more highly regarded by contemporaries than John Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School, the friend of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, and the center of a brilliant circle that included the leading figures in the spiritual and intellectual

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life of England during the first two decades of the sixteenth century. The question of the nature and extent of his influence on his Humanist friends, some of them more learned and gifted with greater literary ability than himself, has been much discussed.[1] He himself had undoubtedly been influenced by the Platonic philosophy he met in Italy and he probably helped to spread the ideas of the Platonic Academy in England.[2] His trip to Italy, where he spent several years in study, has been generally recognized as a crucial experience in Colet's life; but little or nothing is definitely known about it, though his biographers have speculated freely as to the dates of his departure and return, the places he may have visited and the scholars he may have met there. Lupton, in his excellent life of Colet, concludes his discussion of this period with the following summary: "All that is known for certain of him, between the time of his leaving England, somewhere about the year 1493, and his return to London, probably in the spring of 1496, might be summed up in a single sentence. 'After this,' says Erasmus . . . 'like a merchant seeking goodly wares, he visited France and then Italy.' . . . The reader may feel a conviction that he could not have travelled in Italy, under such circumstances, without seeing Rome and Florence; but, strange to say, there is no direct evidence that he was at either of these cities."[3] The letter here published furnishes the first definite information regarding Colet's activities during that obscure but significant period in his life. It shows that he did visit Rome; that he was there on April 1, 1493; that he had probably been there for some little time, since he had talked with Urswick before the latter left the city; that, therefore, his visit to France on his way to Italy must have been very brief or have begun earlier than has been generally supposed; and, finally, that while in Italy he was in contact with at least one of his fellow countrymen. Colet's expression of interest at this time in a book relating the history of the Bohemian heretics during the Hussite Wars may also be of some significance, though it is rather doubtful, in connection with the occasional mysterious

[1] See J. H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet* (London, 1887); Frederic Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers: John Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas More* (3d edition, London, 1887); J. A. R. Marriott, *The Life of John Colet* (London, 1933); Preserved Smith, *Erasmus: a Study of his Life, Ideals, and Place in History* (New York, 1923), pp. 93–100; Karl Bauer, John Colet und Erasmus von Rotterdam, in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, Ergänzungsband V. (1929), pp. 155–187.

[2] Erasmus wrote in 1499: "Coletum meum cum audio, Platonem ipsum mihi videor audire." *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi*, P. S. Allen, ed. (Oxford, 1906 *seqq.*), Ep. 118, l. 21.

[3] Lupton, pp. 45–46; *cf.* Allen, Ep. 1211, ll. 268–270 and 452, n.; Marriott, p. 58 f.; and article in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

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suggestions made by Erasmus and others regarding his later interest in Wycliffe and his leaning toward Lollardy.[4]

Christopher Urswick, to whom the letter is addressed, was at the time a much more important person than the writer.[5] He had won the favor of Henry VII. by his useful support at the time when the latter was fighting his way to the throne, and for the next decade and a half he took a very active part in politics and diplomacy. He was made grand almoner to the king at the beginning of Henry's reign.[6] He was also registrar of the Noble Order of the Garter and held a number of rich ecclesiastical benefices, including the deaneries of York and Windsor. He was archdeacon of Richmond in Yorkshire, one of the largest and wealthiest archdeaconries in England,[7] from 1493 to 1500. In 1502 he retired to the rectory of Hackney, where he spent the last twenty years of his life in scholarly leisure devoted to the cultivation of a large circle of Humanist friends.

In his more active years Urswick was sent by the king on a number of important diplomatic missions. His biographers list eleven embassies on which he was engaged, but make no mention of his having been sent to Rome, nor is any account given of his activities during the winter of 1492–1493 in either the *Records of the Family of Urswyk* or the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He was in France in the fall of 1492 on an embassy which resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Étaples on November 3, and on April 23 of the following year he was in England, having been commissioned to go to Scotland to negotiate an extension of the truce with James IV. The present letter indicates that at some time during that interval he had gone to Rome. In searching for corroboration of this fact, I have discovered a letter written years later, January 4, 1504, by Cardinal Hadrian to Henry VII., which shows that Urswick had indeed been in Rome during that time, having been sent on official business to the pope, probably immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of Étaples. The cardinal explains to the king that certain

[4] See Allen, Ep. 1211, ll. 419–421, 516–519; the Colloquy "Peregrinatio religionis ergo", *Erasmi opera omnia*, J. Clericus, ed. (Leyden, 1703–1706), I. 783, F (*cf.* Preserved Smith, *A Key to the Colloquies of Erasmus*, Cambridge, 1927, p. 40; Allen, Ep. 1211, l. 327, n.); P. S. Allen, Dean Colet and Archbishop Warham, *English Historical Review*, XVII. 303–306; Lupton, pp. 201–205; Allen, Epp. 270, ll. 44–45; 278, ll. 1 and 24–27.

[5] For his life, see Thomas A. Urwick, *Records of the Family of Urswyk, Urswick, or Urwick* (St. Albans, 1893), pp. 81–140; *Dictionary of National Biography;* Allen, Ep. 193, introd.

[6] *Cf.* William Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII.* (London, 1873–1877), I. 46, 71, 184.

[7] *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI. 548.

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delays in the negotiations of the English ambassadors at Rome were due to the confusion following the recent election of the new pope, Julius II., and he reminds the king that there had been similar difficulties at the beginning of the reign of Alexander VI. (elected August, 1492), when Christopher Urswick and the rest of the king's ambassadors had been sent home before anything could be accomplished.[8] There is no indication of the date of his departure from Rome save that it was probably some considerable time before the writing of Colet's letter on April 1, since the uncertainty following the election of the pope would scarcely have lasted throughout the entire winter.

New York University. WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

Reverendo in Christo Patri et domino meo domino Christofero Wrsewyke Richmundensium Archidiacono et magno regis elemosinario: tuus Joannes Colet Salutem dicit quam plurimam.

Bohemicam historiam clarissime vir Christofore et pater grauissime ad te iam tandem misi, non manu quidem vt tu Roma discedens iusseras, sed impressoria arte descriptam. Non enim fuit opus calamo quum impressus codex inueniebatur. Nec forsan eciam fuit necessarium vt impressus liber ad te mitteretur. Quoniam vt opinor ad vos istuc in Angliam eadem hec impressio ex eodem genere libros eandemque historiam transfuderit. Quid enim in hac nostra etate in libris est alicubi, quod idem non vbique est? Ego tamen memor officii et debiti in te mei volui id prestare quod promisi, et eam ad te mittere historiam, quam cognoui te Rome valde desiderasse, historiam certe grauitate rerum perutilem, varietate periocundam. Accedit ad hec autoris vetustissimus stilus, qui omnia vere breuiter et dilucide narrat vt non minus ex scribendi modo quam ex scriptis ipsis tu legens sis voluptatem accepturus. Perlege ergo magne pater et pro tuo sapientissimo more in historia delectare, que vt vocat Marcus Cicero magistra vite est, vt Varro appellat ministra leticie. Preterea si qui hic libri in manus meas venerint quos arbitrabor tuis studiis et lectione dignos esse, et apud vos istic reperiri non posse, eos curabo vt habeas. Tu vale humanissime Christofere et prudentissime pater, solatium profecto hominum et istius nostri regni magnum decus. Rome. Kal. April. 1493.

8 "Papa est novus, et in hac novitate omnia parva videntur magna. Recordetur vestra majestas de principio pontificatus Alexandri, qui dominum Christophorum Wrswic eleemosinarium vestrae majestatis et alios suos oratores fere sine aliqua expeditione domum remisit." James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.* (London, 1863), II. 118.

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American Privateers and the West India Trade, 1776–1777

RECENTLY a collection of unpublished papers containing several hundred items relating to the part taken by Connecticut in the American Revolution was discovered in Kansas City, Missouri. These papers had been gathered together by George Pratt, a lawyer of Norwich, Connecticut, who planned to write a history of Connecticut. But for some reason he never completed the undertaking. In the early eighties of the past century his son, O. W. Pratt, who had inherited the papers, carried them to Kansas City, where the family has resided ever since. They are now the property of his widow, Mrs. Bertha E. Pratt.

In addition to original muster and pay rolls of nearly 4000 Connecticut Continental soldiers the collection contains a considerable number of account books of privateers, and letters and other papers concerning the movements of privateers and merchantmen. Many of these deal with the business relations of Thomas Mumford, a prosperous merchant of Groton, New London County, Connecticut, who during the course of the Revolution was the owner of several ships and of at least nine different privateers and was the bondsman of many others. Besides conducting his regular mercantile operations, which were extensive, he acted at various times as the agent of the Continental Congress in the purchase of military supplies. He carried on these transactions for the most part through the Commerce Committee of the Continental Congress and the Secret Committee on the Importation of Gun Powder, both of which were appointed during the summer of 1775. The character of this trade may be indicated from the following excerpt from a letter written by Thomas Mumford, October 19, 1775, to Silas Deane, then a member of the latter committee. After referring to a contract which two of his captains had made "with Some Gentlemen at S^{t} Eustatia for fifty Tonns of Gun Powder", Mumford said: "I depend agreeable to the Recomendation of his Honor the Governeur that the Delegates from this Colony will endeaveur to procure me permissions for as many Vessels & Cargoes to go Out as will be necessary to purchase said Powder & the sooner they are forwarded to me the more it will Oblige me, & I will thank you to procure for me (from the Congress) the Desired assistance of money, and any Security you may enter into for me I will endemnifie you for, I Leave you to enter into such engagements for me as you Judge Best & proper. I am Content to be under Obligation to Deliver this Powder On its Arrival to whoever the Congress Shall Direct, & if they think proper it may Come entirely on Acc^{t} of the united Colonies, my being allowed a Reasonable Reward for my Trouble in procuring & importing

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the same, I hope to hear from you Soon with the Determination of Congress on this Matter...."[1] The desired authorization was obtained, and Mumford made this purchase through certain business connections on the Dutch Island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies.[2] The most important of these were the commercial firms of Harvey and Milner; Milner, Burch, and Haynes; Thomas Burch and Company; and Milner and Haynes—all of which were directly or indirectly connected as a result of several reorganizations of the firms.

The following letters in the Pratt collection dealing with the important West India-Continental commerce were written to Thomas Mumford by the Thomas Burch and Company of St. Eustatius during 1776 and 1777.

The Pennsylvania State College. ASA E. MARTIN.

St Eustatia February 4th 1776—

Dear Sir

On the 30th Ultimo we received your favor of 9 December which Capt Billings[3] forwarded from Bassetterre Guadaloupe together with Copy of yours of 28 November—the original is not yet come to Hand—We hope Capt Munro[4] has not fell in with any of the Men of War on the Coast of America, but that his detention is rather occasioned by the severity of your Winter—a Brig. arrived last night from Baltimore in 15 Days brings an account the River Delaware was shut or near being shut up with the frost.

This and the neighbouring Islands are so infested with Men of War, that it is next to an impossibility for a Vessel coming here to avoid falling in with one or more of them; and we have the greatest anxiety about the fate of Capt Munro.

Poor Jabez Perkins,[5] bound for Demerara sprung his mast coming off the coast, and was obliged to bear away for these Island, and near Guadaloupe was taken by the *Pomona* man of War and carried into Antigua where we hear his Vessel and Cargo are condemned.

[1] *The Deane Papers: Correspondence between Silas Deane, his Brothers and their Business and Political Associates, 1771–1795.* Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, XXIII. 11 f.

[2] St. Eustatius in the American Revolution, an article by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, published in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1903, VIII. 683–708, relates in detail the significant part played by this island in the American Revolution. In Louis F. Middlebrook's *History of Maritime Connecticut during the American Revolution, 1775–1783* (2 vols., Salem, 1925), are found many data concerning the achievements of the Connecticut naval vessels and their respective crews in the war.

[3] Captain Henry Billings of Norwich, Connecticut.

[4] Captain James Munroe of Providence, Rhode Island.

[5] Jabez Perkins was a member of the business firm of Jabez Perkins and Company of Norwich, Connecticut. This company purchased equipment for a number of privateers, in several of which they owned an interest. This was the occasion of his mission to the West Indies in 1776.

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A few days before the receipt of your Letters we had the mortification to receive the following very unexpected reply to the letter our friends H & M[6] wrote their friends (who are Quakers) to procure the 50 tons of powder[7] "As to the powder I can't think of having any Hand in it good or bad, nor will my Brother, we are principled against such things. at same time wish well to the American cause, knowing it is right. 36 Commissioners all Men of Rank I'm told are appointed to go to America in order to treat with the Congress, if that won't do, it ends either in their subjection Vi— Arms, or in Great Britains ruin for ever—the prospect is shocking if peace be not made—the Hands of the ministry are weakening fast and things are at an alarming Crisis" this is a disappointment which affords us the greatest uneasiness and Chagrin—and we know not immediately how to repair it but by Substituting the following plan hope to make some amends—notwithstanding the Prohibition to ship that article from Amsterdam, our friends H & M have received and have on the way since November last from thence five tons, which we bought of them to make a Merchandize; 7750 lb of which we have received and sold a 4/ p lb to go to America, 2250 lb we have a bill of loading for not yet come to Hand: the Vessel it was shipt by received damage from bad weather and was forced to return to get repaired; when it arrives it shall be shipt to you at ps 38 p Ct. Mess. H & M have ordered from the same House they had the five tons 12¼ Tons more to say (9 December 5 Ton—12 January 6¼) which expect in course, when received we have engaged with them to furnish you also (in consideration of the disappointment and as a proof of their disinterestedness) at the contracted price; and this day embraced an opportunity by three Vessels sailing for Amsterdam, to order jointly with them 40 tons more, to be appropriated to like purpose upon same terms, and have not a doubt but the orders will all be duly complied with, of this you will be pleased to give the Honble Continental Congress full assurance in our behalf—Had we entertained a thought that it was practicable to get it from Holland we could have had in readiness what quantity was wanted; but the very severe restrictions set forth in a proclamation from the States, at first discouraged us from seeking it there: and though we knew Mess. H & M connexions in Ireland were Quakers, were so ignorant of their principles of Religion, that we expected what they did not like to execute from such motives they could at least transfer to others especially as Mess. H & M in their letter of 27. September last strenuously enjoined them to it, in order to guard against any disappointment that may make themselves appear as triflers, and deceivers studying only their own Interest in the matter; and as it must have appeared to them we had a firm reliance—and that a nonperformance on their part must subject us and our friends to very great inconveniences— Your activity and Zeal in laying the Matter before the honble Congress proves you a true patriot to your oppressed country, the Enemies of which

[6] The business firm of Harvey and Milner on the Dutch Island of St. Eustatius.

[7] Throughout the American Revolution the privateers holding Letters of Marque and Reprisal rendered a valuable service to the cause of independence by bringing into the country munitions of war and other products which could not be produced in quantity in the colonies. In addition to carrying a great number of cargoes of goods to and from the West Indies these vessels captured about six hundred British merchantmen.

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none more than ourselves can wish to see vanquished and Her restored to her ancient Liberties—

We wrote Mr Soubier the State of our Markets here, should any of your Captains fall in there for their Government—it's almost impossible for a Vessel to escape the men of War coming from Point Peter to this Island, and have recommended to Mr Soubier to get any of yours made French Bottoms before they proceed to this place.[8] and it would not be improper for you to give your Captains directions to change the property of the Vessel they may command should they fall in with any foreign Island before this say St Croix—St Martins etc this first place has not as yet been visited by any of the Men of War—Chester[9] has not yet appeared and we are told he is detered by the common evil and intends to proceed directly home—as yet we have not heard from him—We are well pleased to hear of Capt. Lathams[10] good fortune and don't know a more proper man to go on a like expedition

6 february 1776[11]

We were this morning very agreeably surprised with the safe arrival of Capt. Samuel Champlain[12] tho' every arrival of this sort adds much to the mortification we felt at our first disappointment—all the Horses are in great spirits and we hope will sell here as the Markets more leeward afford us no encouragement. the other articles will yield better and on the whole we hope to render you pleasing sales and shall dispatch the Sloop without delay with such articles as we hope will in some measure attone for the unfortunate and vexatious misconduct of our Irish friends—The newspapers are very acceptable—Four Ships are Stationed here among the Islands viz the *Argo* (now in sight) the *Hind, Lynx* and *Pomona* notwithstanding which many Vessels have escaped and we are not in want of any American produce for the present demand, yet the prices are good—We are sorry to tell you that the imprudence of some Captains in not concealing or totally sinking their letters and other papers before they were taken has furnished your Enemies with intelligence which had been better buried in oblivion—Poor Munro, our thoughts are ever on the wrick about him—late on the 4 Instant we had the pleasure to receive a Letter from him dated in the River 11 Ultimo p Capt. Palmer[13] who sailed from thence on the 13th same month, Wherein He advises us that we might expect to see him immediately after the receipt of it—it would not be amiss in any future consignments to us to desire the Captains not to let anyone know that he is consigned, as it gives us a better opportunity in case of need to alter the property.

The 8th day of the month is now at hand. Capt. Chapman[14] has been detained by light winds but seems resolutely bent on going now—We learn that the *Portland* Man of War is also stationed here and by a Vessel that

[8] Many American privateers cruised in the West Indies. Besides those that came out from the United States, some were fitted out at Martinique under American commanders with French and Spanish crews and were commissioned by the American naval and commercial agent, William Bingham.

[9] Captain Thomas Chester, jr., of Groton, Connecticut.

[10] Captain Edward Latham of Groton, Connecticut.

[11] A continuation of the same letter.

[12] Captain Samuel Champlain of New London, Connecticut.

[13] Captain Andrew Palmer of Stonington, Connecticut.

[14] Captain John Chapman of New London, Connecticut.

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left Antigua yesterday that the *Hind* and *Viper* sloop of war together with an armed Snow loaded with wine were to sail this day with the Troops from thence bound to Boston and that the troops are also ordered from St Vincents—

We enclose you some news papers of little consequence also Copy of a letter we wrote you p Ca Moses Lippet[15] which we fear miscarried—yesterday we had an account from Amsterdam of the ship with our 2250 lb powder on board having refitted and out to sea so that she is expected momently—with this and the articles you ordered together with some pepper, a passenger (a native of America lately arrived from Holland) with some freight such as Gun locks, barrels etc. and an adventure of ours to your address in order to defray the expence the Honble. Continental Congress have been at in this outfit we mean to dispatch Ca Champlain—

not an article from the Continent that occurs to us could possibly have turned to a worse account than Horses—We have four of them on shore and cannot sell one to pay £6 freight and what adds to this piece of ill luck is that they cannot be transported from hence to any market where they will sell save St Croix and two good parcels lately sold there averaged only 9 half Joes[16]—the Barrel Staves which we supposed would turn to good account will not answer—for your government have inclosed a State of our market—neither Sulphur or Salt Petre to be had here—shall try at Montserrat—the Congress will do well to keep secret the destination of any Vessel they send out—Palmer has very innocently published the account of Munro's—We have not to add save that we are on all occasions very sincerely

Dear Sir
Your devoted humble Servts
THO. BURCH & Co

17 February 1777

Mr Thomas Mumford
Dear Sir

Copy We had the pleasure of writing you under the 2d Decemr p Radden via Philadelphia who we are informed arrived safe.—in consequence of our letter to Mess. Crommelin[17] 18 Septemr. mentioned in our last has arrived the ship *Liberty*—we are now loading her with Salt[18] which we procure with

[15] Captain Moses Lippitt of Providence, Rhode Island.

[16] Half joes was the name given in the American colonies to the johannes, a Portuguese coin issued from 1722 to 1835, worth about $8.81. It was widely used in America at this time.

[17] Daniel Crommelin and Son.

[18] It is difficult to overestimate the importance of salt as an article of commerce in the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary period. The valuable beds of mineral salt in which the country abounds were then either unknown or unexploited, and the method of evaporating sea water in shallow pans was so expensive and laborious that it was little used. Consequently the Continental colonists were almost wholly dependent on foreign countries for this product, essential to the health of man and beast and important as a means of preserving meat and fish for domestic consumption as well as for exportation. The extent of the commerce in salt is shown by the fact that just prior to the Revolution the colonies imported annually about one and one-half million bushels. Approximately

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difficulty at 4 bitts p bushel and expect to send her forward next week say 10 or 12 days—

The Schooner *Polly's* people having all come down and recover'd from severe illness—the mate Mr Shepherd shewed us a note from Capt. Latham, recommending him to proceed with the Schooner, if he should not be able to come down soon after them—We put on board her 1915 bushels salt cost as at foot ps 990.5.5 and as the spring is advancing fast have concluded to send her forward and hope she may arrive seasonably—We have not received a line from Capt. Latham since he first advised us of his arrival at Demerara which is our chief reason for not putting on board the remainder of the powder—Inclosed is an acct of our disbursements for the Schooner amount ps 1989.2.0 Capt Joseph Bell [19] has paid us on your acct ps 3388 and we have paid for 1300 bushels salt furnished him ps 609.4.4 He will pay you on our acct ps 12.5.2

Many Vessels have been fitted out by Individuals in the Windward Islands to Cruize in quest of American property: they have taken and carried into Antigua many valuable prizes which have been regularly condemn'd—but we hope they will stop now as the Admiral [20] has set forth in his proclamation, that he has sent out the sh—— to seize all such noncommission'd Cruizers—

On the 14 Instant we received your agreeable favor of the 10 December by which we are inform'd of the safe arrival of Capt. Chester—which gives us pleasure—you do not acknowledge receipt of ours 5 October and 30 November tho' we have been inform'd of the arrival and delivery of them on the Continent—with real esteem and regard We are, etc

29 March 1777

Dear Sir

Foregoing is Copy of what we had the pleasure to write you p Schooner *Polly* since which have not received any of your favors—Two days after the Schooner's departure arrived Capt. Latham in a poor state of health from Demerara—a few days made an amazing alteration for the better and He now enjoys a perfect state of good health—

The Ship *Liberty* sail'd from here 1st Instant with a fine Gale and we hope ere this, has reached her intended port where we think her cargo will in some measure compensate for the unforeseen detention she met with—Capt. Monro declined going in her so that we got a Burgher's brief for the mate Mr Peniman and clear'd her out in a regular manner for the Island of St Petre—

one-half of this came from the West Indies, one-fourth from southern Europe, and one-fourth from Great Britain. The interruption of this traffic during the war caused great inconvenience and suffering to the colonists both because of the scarcity of salt and because of the exorbitant prices demanded for the limited quantity available. In an attempt to relieve this situation Congress, the states, and private individuals began the manufacture of salt by the evaporation process. These measures, however, met only partially the needs of the people and of business. The account books of privateers, private merchantmen, and the commercialists in all the colonies bear ample testimony to the general demand for salt and to the profits to be derived from traffic in it.

[19] Captain Joseph Bell of Groton, Connecticut.

[20] Admiral James Young, commander of the British naval station in the Leeward Islands, was very active in breaking up illicit trade and in capturing privateers.

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We momently expect some Continental Vessel of War in this port when we mean to avail ourselves of such oppty to make the further necessary shipment as it will then be less liable to accident and a great saving.—The present trading Vessels to the Continent tho' arm'd can not make resistance against the *pirateers* which are very numerous now in these seas—The owners of these Cruizers in Antigua have had the effrontery to arrest Admiral Young for daring to detain a Vessel belonging to them, and in consequence He has dispatch'd a Sloop of War express'd to England.

herewith we send you an estimate of our acct by which it will appear the funds furnished us will fall short between 6 and 7000 ps occasion'd chiefly by our advances to the Schooner *Polly*, and Ship *Liberty* and the advanced price of Salt for which no allowance could have been made—as we have not yet received the Ships acct from Holland cannot ascertain her freight etc—but fear the very exorbitant premium paid for Insurance there 4514 and 1354. out and disbursements there, will leave very little to her credit—In expectation of hearing from you soon We remain with great regard Dear Sir Your most obed Sevts

P. S. We enclose Capt. Monro's receipt for ps 3348.2.1 [21]

[21] The above is an unsigned copy in the same handwriting as the other letters from Thomas Burch and Company.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF GENERAL HISTORY

Historical Material. By Lucy Maynard Salmon. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1933. Pp. ix, 252. $2.50.)

The term historical material recalls to the reviewer's mind a conversation years ago with a young historian, keen and clever if not too industrious. To him the term was repugnant as symbolizing the work of a plodding student searching dutifully for enough details to meet the requirements of a seminar or a thesis. Students of both types, the prosaic plodders and those who are inclined to be impatient with the discipline of routine research, and others as well, should not allow the title of the late Professor Salmon's book to deter them from reading it. Its genuine learning is ever borne lightly, with characteristic ease of style, vivacity, and pleasant humor.

The chapter on What is History? reconciles a great diversity of conflicting definitions and ideas by the view that the meaning of historical study is too broad for definition, and that a full appreciation of history, as of art, must come from personal experience. "We may watch a process as carried on by others, but we gain appreciation of it and discernment of its inner meaning only as we take the first steps in that process." Her purpose was to describe the methods by which "the historian reconstructs the history of human life" from the innumerable records which are the materials of the process of reconstruction. The book was intended primarily for her fellow workers as an aid in supplementing their own experience in using the materials of their craft. The chapter on The Record of Nature is not a mere outline of man's environment but is a lively essay on "the intimate association" of man with nature. In The Record of Institutions and Customs the author shows how contemporary institutions and customs "gather up and preserve" the cumulative records and experience of the past. In a similar manner, the author's unusual knowledge of history illuminates in turn myth, legend, and tradition, archæology, language, literature, and monuments; and the discussions of these topics are quite as valuable to the student in helping him to appreciate contemporary culture as in guiding him in his use of historical material.

Although the book was far from completed, few who belong to the craft of history or who aspire to membership should fail to find inspiration and guidance. For historians and non-historians alike, the book has interest as an unintended commentary on the enrichment of personality by the study of history. Professor Salmon brought to bear on her work a rare insight and devotion. Whatever came under her observation, near or far, alike in time and

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space, was historical material, falling naturally into the scheme of age-old human forces and bringing to her own personality the unusual qualities of ideas and emotions apparent throughout the book and peculiarly so in one of the supplementary chapters, History in a Back Yard. The author's influence extended far beyond her classes in college, and found expression particularly in encouraging and shaping the ideals of women professors of history, among whom she was a distinguished pioneer.

Washington, D. C. WITT BOWDEN.

International Bibliography of Historical Sciences. Edited by the INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES, Washington. Volume III., 1928; volume IV., 1929. (New York: H. W. Wilson Company. 1933. Pp. cvii, 458; cvii, 495. Unbound, $3.00; bound, $3.75.)

A short statement of the organization of this enterprise will be found in the *Vorrede* of the first volume, that for 1926, where we are told that at least three years' issues were assured by the grant of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. Now four years have been covered, the volume for 1930 is approaching publication, and plans have been effected to bring out in rapid succession the volumes for 1932, 1933, and 1931, probably in this order. It is hoped that thereafter the *Bibliography* of a given year will appear before the end of the following year.

FOR any bibliographical project next to the financial problem comes that of selection, in which are involved both size and accessibility. In the former we find inherent the question of inclusion or exclusion, the amount of bibliographical detail, including critical comment. Will its primary service be for the individual scholar or for such a social institution as a library? Is the work to be a *thesaurus* or a *vade mecum*? By accessibility we mean not only the location of the bibliography as a whole and the availability of the works listed in it—both of these aspects affecting the problem of size—but more especially the internal organization. To what extent does the bibliographical apparatus itself develop facility in obtaining the information desired by its users? We can hardly expect a large bibliography to be adjusted to all the inexperience of the novice; but every one whose duties or scholarly interests require him to run through book-trade catalogues and other bibliographical lists knows that in too many cases the organization of the material compels the tossing of too much hay, with the possibility remaining that the needle was there although we fail to see it. The two indexes, names of persons and of places, are very serviceable, although to be confronted, under 'England', with about 150 reference numbers and under 'France' with about 250—the figures only—is rather forbidding. One may begin at the wrong end in his search. The distribution of the titles by subjects is a distinct aid to the ready location of specific historical material. If, however, instead of a merely consecutive

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enumeration, there could be some correlation between the numbers and the subjects, analogous to modern library usage, approach to the titles, both direct and especially through the indexes, would be greatly facilitated.

The successive issues of this *Bibliography* contain respectively 4908, 5556, 5820, and 6235 items, an average annual increase of nearly 450 titles. A comparison of the selections in definite fields with some recent bibliographies limited to these areas (*e.g.*, bibliographies of Belgium and of Switzerland in the *Revue historique*), gives confidence in the comprehensiveness of the selections as a whole. While no census has been taken and an accurate count might correct the impression, the volumes for 1928 and 1929 seem to indicate exceptional productivity on the part of the Slavic writers. Whatever may be the meaning of this, it makes more impressive the linguistic handicap under which much historical effort is exerted, a fact somewhat symbolized in the changing linguistic formats of the *International Bibliography* itself. Titled in five languages, its page headings vary year by year—German, Spanish, French, English, successively thus far, so that Italian will presumably come next. Would not some of the confusion of the user be resolved if in each section the books and articles were grouped in a predetermined linguistic order? The promiscuous intermingling of titles in ten or more languages leads to unnecessary mental and eye fatigue, the user ordinarily being interested only in titles of works in the language or languages which he himself can read.

The Library of Congress. WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

The Chinese: their History and Culture. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. xiv, 506; 389. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Latourette has summed up in most usable form the accumulating scholarship of modern sinologists. His work shows a sound, balanced comprehension of the great body of specialized studies that have mined the strata of Chinese historical materials. He does not claim familiarity with the strata themselves, though he has thoroughly handled the considerable bulk of samples made available in translations and through the Western publications of contemporary Chinese. The style is well suited to cautious, informing generalization.

The first volume, after a prefatory chapter on geography in its economic and historical implications, presents Chinese history from the earliest times to 1933. The author takes a broad view of the many-sided development of the Chinese people, utilizing both polity and culture for his divisions into periods. About one-third of the space is devoted to the critical events and changes of the past hundred years, an immediate introduction to the confused but lively China of our own day. In the second volume are set forth the life and experi-

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ence of the Chinese people in various phases: demographic, political, economic, religious, social, æsthetic, literary, educational.

The plan involves occasional repetition, with apparent gain in clarity and interpretation. Cross references are few, and will be supplemented by careful students. There is no unified treatment of philosophy, which the author has thought best to distribute under the topics on which the Chinese mind has dwelt, and among his chapters on general history (notably chapter II. on The Beginnings of Chinese Civilization, where the classical thinkers provide no small part of the main story).

Extensive and considerably annotated bibliographies are arranged by chapters, making a rich conspectus of all significant materials and studies on China available in Western languages. The indexes are creditable, and include the requisite Chinese characters. One good map is not equal to its burden. Our poor Western minds demand physical features for a country we know so vaguely; and a separate guide for the classical period, perhaps in the superimposed form employed by Franke, tracing the old kingdoms upon the background of the modern provinces. Format, typography, and price have been decently managed by the publishers; for the contents are not slight by any measure.

Large synthesis and *haute vulgarisation* must tremble on the point of a needle. The beginner is oppressed by the skilled condensation of materials, and further in this case by the strange weight in the Western hemisphere of a minimum of Chinese names. The proficient is impatient with careful summaries, and would crowd them out by fuller detail. The esoteric doctors clamor for more boldness in challenge and suggestion. Professor Latourette's sound exposition is for those who want a reliable guide and a trusty reference. Novelty and "interpretation" do not startle, for they are quietly hidden in selection and organization. The specialist, as in art or in language, will feel that his chapter is not up to the general level; and in so doing suggests that he has something to learn on lines other than his own, perhaps most of all from their interrelations in full-bodied history.

The significance of *The Chinese: their History and Culture* can best be seen in an inventory of books commonly used for study in this field. De Mailla's *Histoire générale de la Chine* (13 vols.) and Wieger's *Textes historiques* (3 or 2 vols.) gave versions of Chinese traditional works, the latter printing also the Chinese characters and injecting some modern items on connections with the West; Cordier's *Histoire générale de la Chine* (4 vols.) is based on the eighteenth century De Mailla, but goes further than Wieger in adding Western materials for the Mongol period and for the nineteenth century. Of the briefer items, Gowen's *Outline History of China* (Gowen and Hall in the recent edition) is a sad indicator of our casualness regarding that country; E. T. Williams's *Short History* is the product of a real student, but not of a critical historian. Grousset in his *Histoire de l' Extrême-Orient* (2

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vols.) presents a learned, heavily bibliographical study of cultural development, valuable mainly for the art and the philosophy of China and her neighbors; Krause shows sober sense without greatness in *Geschichte Ostasiens* (3 vols.). Wilhelm's *Geschichte der chinesischen Kultur* (English translation) has intelligent sympathy with charm, but weakens when the task is well begun. Latourette's *Development of China* is an extremely brief introduction, and though carefully done is scarcely informing until the nineteenth century; Rosthorn's *Geschichte Chinas* (Hartmann's *Weltgeschichte,* vol. X.) is thoughtful and well-informed, but cruelly condensed.

Thus in fullness, quality, and modernity of treatment for Chinese studies in Western languages, the new work stands alone. Nor is it likely to be surpassed for longish years.[1] Not only teachers and students of history and the social sciences, but those concerned with the world's art, literature, religion, education, may turn to Professor Latourette's volumes for competent direction among the rich mazes of Chinese life and culture. They are well served.

The University of Nanking. M. S. Bates.

BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome. Edited by Tenney Frank. Volume I., *Rome and Italy of the Republic.* By Tenney Frank. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1933. Pp. xiv, 541. $3.00.)

This is the first volume of an economic survey of the ancient Roman world. Three more volumes are promised. They will contain sections on the Roman provinces and Italy in Imperial times contributed by a group of scholars working under the general supervision of Professor Frank. The first aim of the series is "to present the sources (literary, epigraphical, papyrological) and to give due attention to the economic meaning of the archaeological evidence". In most cases, translations of the original sources are appended for the benefit of non-classically trained students, primarily economists, who may wish to consult the work. In the first volume it was impossible to print in full all pertinent passages, but the sources have been well sifted so as to avoid repetition and the inclusion of material believed to be unreliable by the editor. Although this procedure was probably necessary, it detracts somewhat from the profession of impartial objectivity which prefaces the work.

[1] It is hoped that the thorough and cautious H. Maspero, who masters both the sources and the literature, will proceed from his *La Chine antique* (which halts with the start of the Ch'in empire in 221 B. C.). An English translation of this splendid book is reported to be ready. Franke's *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* (vol. I. to 225 A. D.) is interesting and suggestive, but not of first water in critical acumen and balance. It would be desirable to translate one of the best Japanese histories of China. The Cresset series has promised a volume by V. K. Ting, who is likely to stimulate scholars by the bold employment of his knowledge of China's past, disciplined in practical geology and archæology.

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"It is not our purpose here to theorize. We have preferred to assemble the sources and let others draw the facile anthropo-geographical inferences."

In view of the scarcity of reliable information about economic matters in Republican Rome and Italy, whether contemporary or late, the first volume will prove disappointing to those who expect a mass of detailed and certified material on agriculture, trade, commerce, and manufacturing. Even in matters of public finance, to which about a quarter of the book is devoted, the details are necessarily highly conjectural. Here possibilities, given *exempli gratia,* frequently take the place of certainties, as Professor Frank has been careful to state.

After an introduction dealing with Rome before the Gallic fire, there are five chapters. The section on agriculture in chapter III. is particularly valuable because of the inclusion of extended passages from Cato's treatise on agriculture. Where the sources permit, there are also sections on prices. At the end of the volume there is a selected bibliography. For the exclusion of important archæological articles Professor Frank offers an apology in the preface, an apology which presumably covers such passages as the last sentence on page 25 which refers to certain important excavations without informing the reader where they have been published.

May I suggest that maps would have added materially to the value of the volume, especially as places mentioned are not always to be found in some of the commonly used classical atlases? It is possibly not too late to remedy this defect in the three remaining volumes where maps will be indispensable, certainly for readers who are not familiar with the geography of the Roman Empire.

There is a marked lack of consistency in giving weights and measures which is often confusing to the reader, possibly to the author as well, for it is not easy to see how otherwise he has equated (p. 389) four hundred talents with $2,400,000. To estimate land now in acres, now in jugera, now in square miles, and now in square kilometers requires both a nimble mind and constant reference to the table given on page 422.

In his treatment of the early coinage of Rome, Professor Frank is conservative, rejecting with some asperity Mattingly's analyses of the numismatic evidence. Although Professor Frank preserves an appearance of impartiality when he says that it will be many years before an agreement can be reached on this question, his disparaging attitude toward numismatists, including with their work also the historical documents known as coin types, seems to have prevented him from giving Mattingly's thesis adequate consideration. It may be worth noting here that a recently published hoard of early Roman and Italian coins seems to confirm rather than to confute Mattingly. Thus we ought to reserve judgment on Professor Frank's theories about the part played by coinage in the economic crises at Rome before the end of the Second Punic War.

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Except for a few emendations and interpretations of ancient sources, most of which have been published separately in recent classical periodicals, the book offers little that is novel. Instead it is a sober compilation of material widely scattered through ancient sources and modern commentaries. Such a work has long been needed. It will be very useful for economists and classical students alike. Almost no one but Professor Frank would have had the courage and patience to undertake such a project, and no one is better fitted than he to complete it. The volume augurs well for the series.

The University of Cincinnati. ALLEN B. WEST.

La monarchie féodale en France et en Angleterre, X^e^–XIII^e^ siècle. Par CH. PETIT-DUTAILLIS, membre de l'Institut, directeur de l'Office national des universités. [L'évolution de l'humanité, volume 41.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1933. Pp. xvii, 477. 40 fr.)

MEDIEVALISTS have long realized that the feudal monarchies in France and England constituted in many ways a single topic. To demonstrate, however, how "les deux pays ont vécu—en symbiose" was a task demanding such mastery of both French and English history that it is not surprising that hitherto no one has been bold enough to attempt it. The present author achieves a success which will be welcomed by everyone interested in the Middle Ages.

He offers a work of real synthesis, seeking to explain rather than to describe. This requires consideration of events, persons, and institutions in relation to each other. By describing how the feudal group, a very human group dominated by different personalities at different times, worked on particular questions during this epoch, the author makes institutional development clearly a part of political history, and he is able to show how and why the working of similar institutions led to widely different results.

The present work is much more than a parallel study of two adjacent countries. It is fundamentally a discussion of the conflict between "la notion d'État" and "la notion de seigneurie", a description of the growth of monarchy within the feudal system, a monarchy, however, which was more than feudal in its origins, but which utilized feudal law and feudal ideas to build up its own super-feudal position and thus to transform the state. In this connection we see the reëmergence of the idea of subjects, and are shown how the system of feudal consultation helped to develop the idea of general royal legislation for the public good. The author describes the ideology behind events and institutions, the different conceptions of monarchy held by jurists, clergy, and barons in Angevin England, the ideas moving Simon de Montfort, the theories of royalty in thirteenth century France. The leading, and often decisive part played by the Church in formulating and applying these ideas is emphasized. At the same time due consideration is given to the influence of personalities. Indeed the triumph of monarchy in France is ascribed to

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the leadership of Philip Augustus and Saint Louis and the book closes with an explanation of how the latter's reputation popularized the monarchical idea. Along with generalization, however, goes a disposition to explain individual events by their immediate causes rather than to fit them into some larger trend. This is the realistic approach to history, but it is one which can be utilized only by a scholar with a mastery of the literature and the sources.

Not only does the book summarize the most recent scholarship but it also contains the results of the author's own researches which often lead him to disagree with other authorities and to offer his own intepretations even though space be lacking for a full explanation of his position. He asserts his belief that the great dukes always recognized the existence of their obligation to do homage to the early Capetians. In like manner he holds that the great domestic officials did not disappear under Hugh and Robert. The theory that Henry I.'s charter was a contract between king and barons he rejects. By emphasizing the elective character of the English kingship he takes issue with Norgate on the accession of John. The Becket affair he brushes aside on the theory that Becket did not personify the Church nor represent the English clergy. The collapse of the Angevin Empire is explained on the ground that John was really insane, a victim of cyclothymia. Even spelling, as in Plantegenet and Isambour of Denmark, is corrected to conform with the sources. There is a detailed discussion of how the later Capetians gradually increased the number of their immediate vassals, thereby achieving the result which the Salisbury oath accomplished for the Norman kings. A résumé of the author's researches on the origin of the *baillis* offers the conclusion that Philip was inspired by Anglo-Norman institutions. Philip's apologetic renunciation of the Saladin tithe is cited as demonstrating the power of the French Church, a significance overlooked by Cartellieri. Occasionally there are brilliant and penetrating ideas such as the suggestion that Bracton was actuated by an unconscious Machiavellianism, similar to that of a modern French bureaucrat, when he formulated theories which really meant government by expert officials like himself. And some may be startled by the theory, reminiscent of modern Balkan politics, that the English are by nature a passionate people given to extremes of violence.

This is a very stimulating work. Its sequel in this series will be eagerly awaited.

Williams College. RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Nouvelles études sur les institutions financières de la France à la fin du Moyen Age: Les origines et le premier siècle de la chambre ou cour des aides de Paris. Par GUSTAVE DUPONT-FERRIER, professeur à l'École des chartes. (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1933. Pp. 271. 30 fr.)

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THIS may be described as Professor Dupont-Ferrier's third volume on the early history of the *aides,* the extraordinary taxes of the Old Régime. The first part of his *Études,* the one describing the origin and collection of such taxes before 1500, has been described in this review (XXXVII. 737). The volume before us, similar in scope, is devoted to the court which had jurisdiction over cases arising in connection with the *aides,* in many ways the counterpart of the English court of the exchequer. The study is characterized by the precise and admirable scholarship which marked the earlier one and relies for the most part on the same sources—the surviving registers of the *cour des aides,* hitherto little examined.

So similar were the terms *chambre* and *cour* as applied to the court that contemporaries used them interchangeably. In 1355 the court was not differentiated from the group of *généraux* who were designated to administer the first levy of the *aides.* Evidence for such differentiation by 1373 rests upon the statement of an eighteenth century historian that he had seen a register of 1373–1375. At best the court's life was intermittent until 1390, when its establishment was assured. The first five registers spared by fire date from 1397 to 1412 and reveal the holding of 100 to 148 *audiences* a year. When Charles VII. returned to Paris in 1436 he housed the court in the *Palais de la Cité* and Louis XI. turned over to it the queen's apartments there. To lessen its tasks two subsidiaries were set up, one in 1437 for Languedoc with its seat at Montpellier, the other in 1450 for Normandy with its seat at Rouen. Though sovereign, the two referred serious cases to the court at Paris.

The personnel of the Paris court consisted of a president, four *généraux,* three counselors, a *procureur,* and an *avocat du roi.* Official standards were not always above reproach and we have a full account of charges brought in 1468 by his colleagues against Maistre Erlant, a *général* who attended some eight hundred sessions. Violence, favoritism, and venality were alleged against him and even open trafficking in the halls of the *Palais.* The court had certain legislative functions. Not only did it actively draft the *ordonnances* touching the *aides* but it was empowered to interpret and modify them, assisted by two or more members of the *Grand Conseil.* It might decline to register them until the king insisted. It had, too, administrative features; for, although there were other *généraux* for the administration of the *aides,* subordinate officials were responsible to the *généraux* of the court as well. Disputes touching authority naturally arose. In the exercise of jurisdiction, the peculiar business of the *cour des aides,* it stood somewhat in contrast to the *parlement de Paris.* While the competence of the latter extended to matters touching revenues from the royal *domaines,* that of the former embraced all other revenues, the sum of which had by 1461 come to be thirty times greater. The *parlement* admitted a feudal element, the *cour des aides* was exclusively monarchical. Since the *parlement* was the older and more

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dignified court, feeling itself the image of the Roman senate and a partner of the king in sovereignty, it showed contempt for its upstart neighbor and, despite professions of readiness to coöperate, it precipitated conflicts of jurisdiction and disregarded royal *ordonnances* which protected its rival. In procedure the *cour des aides* did not fulfill the hopes which the king at the time of its creation had expressed. It failed to avoid delays, soon coming to rely upon written rather than upon oral testimony and introducing various *mémoires, plaidoiries, enquêtes, rapports,* and *appointements.* While in this inefficiency it reflected current social tendencies, it did establish itself as a strong financial support of royalty and came to share materially in the somewhat collegiate conduct of affairs under the Old Régime. As a study of fifteenth century governmental and social organization, Professor Dupont-Ferrier's book is of great interest.

Bryn Mawr College. H. L. GRAY.

The London Weavers' Company. By FRANCES CONSITT, B. Litt., Ph. D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1933. Pp. xi, 343. $8.00.)

THIS beautifully printed and illustrated work carries the history of the London Weavers' Company from the middle of the twelfth century, when the gild received its first royal charter, to 1600. Miss Consitt plans to devote a second volume to the later history of the company. The present study is based upon manuscripts in the Public Record Office, the London Guildhall, and especially upon the records of the weavers, which were placed at Miss Consitt's disposal by the court of the company. She has printed a considerable number of these records, together with some documents from the Guildhall, in a series of appendixes which occupies approximately as much space as her text. She has handled her material with meticulous care, such as we should expect from a pupil of Mr. Lipson, and such as quickly inspires confidence in the accuracy of the work. Her volume gives the most complete account of an English medieval gild that has yet been published.

While Miss Consitt's researches supply many new and interesting details, they do not greatly alter the broad picture of gild life obtained from earlier books, especially from the study of the late Professor Unwin. Nor do they provide us with much unexpected information concerning medieval industrial organization. What we learn confirms the impression already formed from more general works concerning the place of the textile industry in the medieval town economy of England and the Continent. As the market for cloth in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was wider than that for most other commodities, and as the raw materials for its manufacture, especially wool, and alum for dyeing, had to be obtained from considerable distances, textile manufacture offered an especially fertile field for the spread of the

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domestic system. The weavers were everywhere among the first town craftsmen to become dependent upon traders for their raw materials and their markets. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that in London before the end of the thirteenth century many members of the weavers' gild had come under the control of the burellers, whose origin Miss Consitt has been unable to trace, but who appear to have been the most important dealers in cloth prior to the ascendancy of the drapers in the second half of the fourteenth century. She has also not been able to determine to what extent the weavers purchased this yarn and sold the cloth made with it, to what extent the burellers advanced them the yarn and paid them a wage for their labor upon it. She reaches the conclusion that the London craftsmen were not reduced to so extreme a dependence upon traders as were the weavers in the textile towns of Flanders and northern France.

It was natural, with the growing power of trading corporations like the grocers or drapers, that the weavers should have lost the leading position among the London gilds which they had held in the twelfth century. On the other hand, the democratic nature of the government within the weavers' gild persisted longer than in most other companies, partly because the capital required to purchase the looms was small. It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that the conflict of interests between the yeomanry, who worked with their hands, and a few wealthy members of the gild, who wished to employ weavers to work for them, became acute. The unity of interests within the company had been threatened in the time of Edward III. by the immigration of Flemish weavers, many of whom, unlike most of the native London weavers, were employers of labor. The gild appears to have resisted the resulting pressure toward an internal oligarchy by refusing to unite with the Flemish until 1497. Miss Consitt suggests that the willingness of the natives to compromise at that time may have been due to the decay in the London textile industry as a whole during the fifteenth century, through the competition from weavers in the country districts, where there was less resistance to more capitalistic methods of production. Miss Consitt's story confirms the view that while the woolen textile workers were among the first artisans to become dependent upon the capital of traders, their gild organization provided an important brake upon the further progress of capitalist industrial organization in the towns, and tended to force it into country districts relatively free from regulative traditions. Her book also confirms the view that this process took place somewhat later in England than in the Low Countries and northern France.

In an age which is inclined to exaggerate the virtue of novelty, it would be shortsighted to complain of a monograph merely on the ground that it does not seriously modify existing views of industrial history. We can hardly know too much about this subject, and Miss Consitt has put economic

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historians in her debt by the careful account which she has given of the most important of English weaving gilds. At the same time, one might point out that students have devoted a somewhat disproportionate amount of space to the gilds of London and to the history of textiles. Greater attention could well be paid by the industrial historian to the breaking of new ground in other directions. The truth or falsehood of old generalizations must be tested by the investigation of less explored fields, especially of gild life in English provincial towns, of the building trades, including shipbuilding, and of industries like the mining and working up of ores and the manufacture of salt, which were frequently carried on even in the thirteenth century altogether outside the medieval town economy.

The University of Chicago. JOHN U. NEF.

BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Queen Elizabeth. By J. E. NEALE. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1934. Pp. 402. $3.75.)

THIS book is addressed to the general reader. It lacks footnotes, a bibliography, appendixes, and all the other obvious trappings of scholarship. But it has been written by one of the most eminent of living authorities upon the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It therefore deserves very careful consideration.

There can be no doubt about its scholarship. Even without documentation that fact will be clear enough to those at all familiar with the source material available on the reign of the great queen. Indeed they will detect evidences of fresh discoveries which Professor Neale himself has made but has been too modest to proclaim. One regrets a little his concession to the assumed popular distaste of footnotes. An unobtrusive numeral in the text with appended references discreetly concealed somewhere in the back of the book could hardly have disturbed the casual reader and would have been distinctly helpful to the curious student. But we must be grateful for what we have and not cry for the moon.

Merely as a *tour de force* the book is a remarkable performance. In something less than four hundred pages Professor Neale not only presents a clear picture of Elizabeth as a woman, but he discusses, with a sure grasp of the enormous mass of documentary material on the subject, all the major problems she had to face as queen. And he is quite guiltless of that besetting sin of the popular biographer—the disposition to elaborate on the personal idiosyncrasies and personal frailties of his subject to the neglect of those qualities which really constitute the chief claim to remembrance. The greatness of Elizabeth's father has, for instance, been obscured by what appears to be a fashionable preoccupation with his marriages, and she, herself, has barely escaped a similar preoccupation with her failures to marry.

Professor Neale sees her first and foremost as a queen, and he is disposed

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to ascribe the great things which we associate with her reign in England to her abilities as a queen. In this particular he breaks sharply with Froude's classical account of her. What Froude sees as miserliness, Neale sees as thrift; what Froude condemns as vacillating, Neale applauds as a wise opportunism; what Froude deplores as inertia, Neale commends as masterly inactivity. The fact is, of course, that nothing succeeds like success, and if we admit, as we are bound to admit, that the achievements of Elizabeth's reign were great, it is not hard to justify any course of policy which compassed them. But whether it was wise leadership that turned the trick, or whether it was that the stars in their courses were fighting for England, it is not so easy to decide. To a considerable extent one's decision in the matter will depend upon one's objective. Granted that the important business was England's immediate peace and prosperity, Elizabeth achieved it. Yet it can hardly be doubted that the foundations were laid in her reign for the civil wars in the next century. And it is not apparent that she showed either wisdom or foresight in dealing with the major economic issues of her day. Professor Neale does well to emphasize the importance of her financial problems. "For all its drabness and difficulty, finance is the essence of Elizabeth's story" (p. 282). Perhaps she perceived this, but apart from her efforts to save her treasury from the cormorants who hovered about her, it does not appear that she did anything very intelligent about the matter. Even in her thrift she was penny-wise and pound-foolish. It was hard enough to wring a penny from her or a foot of land, but she gave away in commercial concessions countless thousands. And she did virtually nothing at all to develop a sound system of taxation, though she knew well enough that the existing methods were hopelessly inadequate to tap the developing wealth of England.

Perhaps nothing could be done. Perhaps the important thing after all was to keep the good will of her subjects. But storms were brewing about her before she died, and the next century was to prove that the problems she evaded eventually had to be faced. The greatest objection to her whole course of procedure was that it depended for success upon her extraordinary flexibility of mind, her complete indifference to principle, and her almost uncanny perception of the temper of her people. Given a sovereign without these attributes—given a James or a Charles Stuart, for instance—and the application of what appeared to be her system of government spelt disaster. Her greatest achievement was her conquest of the hearts of her subjects. "This I account the glory of my crown that I have ruled with your loves." But unfortunately she created no machinery to perpetuate this splendid conception of government by consent. It died with her, and, barring a brief resurrection under Charles II., was never again to be realized in the form in which she conceived it in England.

The University of Pennsylvania. CONYERS READ.

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The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493–1688. By ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON, M.A., D.Lit., F.S.A., Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London, Fellow of King's College, London. [The Pioneer Histories, edited by V. T. HARLOW and J. A. WILLIAMSON.] (London: A. and C. Black; New York: Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xviii, 356. $3.50.)

THE authors who contribute volumes to the Pioneer Histories "have all", write the editors, "had experience of research in the original evidence pertaining to their subjects, and . . . give the results of that research in narratives which should appeal to the general reader". Professor Newton admirably exhibits these qualities by his critical knowledge of the sources, a long experience as director of a productive seminar in imperial history, a discriminating sense of the significant, and the clarity and force of his style.

His book is in the main a record covering two centuries of the struggle by Europeans—as individuals, as nations, and as alliances—against Spanish pretensions to territorial, maritime, and commercial monopoly in the New World. This position was challenged by violence, long amounting to anarchy west of Borgia's Line. Buccaneering was in a sense feudalism at its worst gone to sea. As British and French royal authority gradually mastered the agencies of force, the pressure of nations upon Spain became irresistible. By the great treaties of the seventeenth century and a succession of assientos she abandoned the position that the Caribbean was a mare clausum, admitted limited commercial intercourse, and recognized the legality of foreign occupation or conquest of regions long neglected by her. By the end of the period comity in Europe meant comity in America; anarchy west of the line was replaced by international law.

Such in broad outline is the epic of the transit of European civilization to the Western World, particularly in regard to international relations. The scene is filled in with intimate studies, sometimes revised estimates of significant characters, such as Columbus, Hawkins, Drake, Menéndez, Cromwell, Piet Hein, and Sir Henry Morgan. The failure of Columbus as a colonizer is contrasted with the success of Ovando. Newton connects Spanish colonial administration with previous techniques in their government of the Canary Islands; he credits the system of *repartimientos* as having been derived from the conquered Moors. His treatment of Spanish leadership and its capacity to learn reveals an independence of tradition and eagerness to be fair. Hawkins's futile endeavor to establish legitimate trade with the Indies prior to his raids, his exploits and Drake's are admirably treated. The significance of British, French, and Dutch settlements in the Caribbean is found mainly in their strategic value for commerce and naval operations. Providence was to be the English spearhead of the "Western Design" for conquering Central America. Its destruction by Spain was avenged by Cromwell's conquest of

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Jamaica. The transformation of Jamaica by Governors Modyford and Lynch from a buccaneering base into a depot for peaceful trade, often conducted nominally by Spanish factors, was prophetic of the practical conquest of the Caribbean by bourgeois civilization. As the seventeenth century closed the stage was already set for the Anglo-French act in the drama for colonial supremacy.

Pomona College. FRANK W. PITMAN.

Parliament and the Army, 1642–1904. By Lieutenant Colonel J. S. OMOND, M.B.E., M.C., Royal Army Ordnance Corps. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. viii, 187. $2.75.)

THE late Graham Wallis, while lecturing to an army class at the London School of Economics six years ago, suggested the need of an adequate study of the problem of army control in England. That suggestion resulted in this well-presented little study by Colonel Omond, which helps to do for British military policy what Upton, Huidekoper, and Ganoe have done for this country's similar problems. The value of Colonel Omond's work lies chiefly in its useful coördination of fairly intricate subject matter. The period from 1640 to 1815 is treated in two chapters drawn from general secondary works and contains little that is not already familiar to the general student of British history. The colonel's original contributions lie in his treatment of the past century, where he has drawn heavily upon memoirs and upon the voluminous reports of the very numerous commissions of military inquiry.

The matter of supreme military control has been a difficult one for democracies to solve. England solved its problem with its characteristic practice of muddling evolution. The men who drew up the Mutiny Act had fresh in their minds both the army's usurpation of the civil government under Cromwell and, more recently, the efforts of James II. to overawe the metropolis with his regiments on Hounslow Heath. They made arrangements to keep both the army and the crown from going too far again by establishing periodic parliamentary control over discipline and appropriations. With that basic principle established, Parliament neglected the army during the eighteenth century.

After Waterloo, there was obvious need for administrative reform in the armed forces. Military control was exercised by thirteen virtually independent offices, and naval control by fifteen. The latter were effectively coordinated in 1832 under the first lord of admiralty, a cabinet officer, but the army had to wait seventy-two years more for a similar concentration of responsibility and authority. One of the main obstacles to military reform was Victoria who, throughout her long reign, jealously regarded army control as a special royal prerogative. The blunderings of the Crimean War forced partial

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reforms in 1855, when the scattered offices were combined under two roofs. One of these was the war office in Pall Mall, controlled by the secretary of state for war. The other was the Horse Guards, where the commander in chief held sway. The line of demarcation between the two was not made clear and friction was increased by the attitude of the Duke of Cambridge, the queen's cousin, who was commander in chief from 1856 to 1895. An ultraconservative, he considered himself under crown rather than parliamentary authority, and resisted the latter even after the Cardwell reforms of 1870 brought the Horse Guards and war office under one roof. He was ousted in favor of Wolseley in 1895 but the disputed question of supreme control had a bad effect in the Boer War. That shock, in addition to the passing of Victoria, paved the way in 1904 for sweeping military reforms in which the commander in chief gave way to a chief of staff directly subordinate to the secretary of state for war. This victory for parliamentary control made possible the Haldane reforms which helped to put the British army in condition to meet its great responsibilities in 1914. Colonel Omond analyzes the situation clearly and without obvious bias. A chronological summary is useful in helping the reader to follow the story.

Princeton University. ROBERT G. ALBION.

Histoire de la marine française. Par CHARLES DE LA RONCIÈRE, conservateur à la Bibliothèque nationale. Tome VI., *Le crépuscule du grand règne: L'apogée de la guerre de course.* (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1932. Pp. 603. 48 fr.)

M. La Roncière has at last given us another volume of his *magnum opus* upon the French navy, which has been so well received by French savants. It carries us from Colbert's death to that of Louis XIV., a period which witnessed the beginning of the Second Hundred Years' War, with France facing the two leading naval powers. The results of the maritime contest would have been a foregone conclusion, had not the Dutch and English been compelled to protect their great merchant fleets trading with all corners of the earth.

The earlier phases of the naval war favored France, as Bantry Bay and Beachy Head sufficiently attest. The Allied victory two years later was largely nullified by the Smyrna disaster, which led William III. to keep a fleet in the Mediterranean during the winter. Louis XIV.'s threat of a descent upon Britain quickly brought this fleet back to the Channel. Louis then captured Barcelona, forced Savoy to become his ally, and secured a fairly satisfactory peace that he might face the momentous problem of the Spanish Succession. It could not be solved without a war, which found France without the services of Tourville, her greatest naval leader, and of Bart, her incomparable corsair. The repulse of the Allies at Cadiz was followed by an unexpected victory

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at Vigo, which forced Portugal to join them. The greatest Allied achievement was probably the capture of Gibraltar, which France nearly regained at Vélez Málaga. The English conquest of Minorca was likewise neutralized in part by the French defense of Toulon.

The history under review is drawn upon a much larger canvas than this, for it includes all phases of French maritime activity—commerce, colonies, and to an even greater degree privateering which was so inextricably intertwined with both. The treatment takes the form of an epic; of a glorious chapter in French history even though it ended in disaster. The author has his heroes, a galaxy of them indeed, with Vauban, Iberville, and Duguay-Trouin, leading the van; he also has his villains in Louvois and Pontchartrain; and to make his cast complete, even a "villainess" in Madame de Maintenon. He describes with zest the prodigies of valor performed by French sailors, especially the privateers from St. Malo and Dunkirk, who repeatedly accomplished the impossible.

The work is critical and impartial. It is based upon an astonishing amount of research in all the Parisian archives, as well as several of those in the provinces. English manuscripts have been studied less intensively, but the secondary materials have been thoroughly explored. Vauban is the author's outstanding hero, the engineer who was more than an engineer, a man with a vision of what the navy, commerce, and colonies would mean to France; "l'apôtre de la guerre de course", which might have accomplished far more with more intelligent support from Pontchartrain, whose jealousy and pusillanimity were among the greatest liabilities of the French navy.

The author feels that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes cost France very dearly. She lost some of her greatest business men, and large numbers of well-trained sailors, many of whom joined the enemy, to whom they proved invaluable as pilots and spies. The Allied secret service, with its headquarters at Rotterdam was, thanks largely to Huguenots, exceedingly efficient. M. La Roncière rightly emphasizes the enormous booty secured by French corsairs. Through their efforts and the Assiento, France secured some two hundred million livres. On one occasion merchants from St. Malo lent Louis XIV. thirty millions, which saved France from ruin (pp. 570–576). The author is probably the most critical of the behavior of the French fleet at Vélez Málaga, being convinced that with a little more courage it might have relieved Gibraltar. In the main he holds Mme. de Maintenon and her "bâtards de cotillon", who were in command, responsible.

When one has received so much, it seems a bit ungrateful to ask for more. Above all we would welcome a comprehensive index, which most learned French works lack. Maps and diagrams are too few for the later portions. Maps of French colonial possessions, of the Channel, and of the Baltic area would have been welcome. The style is succinct, at times almost stirring.

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For a work so comprehensive we have noticed very few errors, and none of consequence. The *Bredah* was an English, not a Dutch, ship (p. 285). Despite the author's great knowledge of the secondary materials, he has missed some recent monographs on Ryswick, Hudson's Bay, the Assiento, and the Canadian expedition of 1711. He has been most generous, however, in citing secondary works, many of which could have added little to his own vast knowledge. The work does not indicate the great significance of the English fleet in the Mediterranean in William's reign, nor the part Louis XIV. played in French naval policy. This volume, however, is a truly great contribution to historical literature. It represents French historical scholarship at its peak, which is to-day probably the best in the world.

Indiana University. WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, January, 1719, to December, 1721, preserved in the Public Record Office. Two volumes. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM, M.A. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1933. Pp. xlii, 435; lxiii, 588. £1 10*s*.)

THE three years covered by these volumes witnessed two events of more than ordinary importance for the history of English colonization. After suffering from years of mismanagement, the leading inhabitants of South Carolina rose to overthrow the authority of the proprietors and petitioned the king to put the province under his immediate government. This revolution played directly into the hands of the board of trade, since it provided an opportunity to carry one step forward the board's long-cherished policy of abolishing proprietary and corporate governments throughout the colonies. The uprising and subsequent installation of Francis Nicholson as first royal governor are the subject matter of numerous documents, many of which are here printed for the first time.

The second event of major importance was the presentation by the board of trade of its great report of 1721 on the state of the continental colonies (*1720–1721*, sec. 656). After describing with some detail the conditions and needs of each of these colonies, the board went on to discuss colonial commerce. Already American markets had become of enormous value to the mother country, absorbing annually British exports worth £1,000,000, nearly half of which went to the continent, while colonial commerce in general supported, directly or indirectly, one-third of all British shipping. The report then describes French advances in the back country and suggests farsighted measures for the protection of Britain's interests against these menacing encroachments. Next the board took up its favorite old topic, the evils resulting from the continuance of corporate and proprietary governments, and urged once more the desirability of royalization. After treating various minor topics the report concludes with bold proposals for the partial unification of

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all the colonies under a single lord lieutenant or captain general and for the centralization of responsibility in England by conferring upon the board of trade authority and status comparable to that of the treasury and admiralty. This document has previously been printed, in whole or in part, a number of times, and is here given with several minor omissions, yet it impresses the reader afresh as one of the great state papers in the history of English colonial administration. Had the ministry carried out more of its recommendations at the time, Great Britain would later have been spared much trouble and loss.

Numerous other matters fill the pages of these volumes. War with Spain and negotiations with France over intercolonial boundaries brought the colonies once more into the field of international politics. The production of naval stores and iron and the preservation of the woods were the subjects of several important documents, and especially of a noteworthy memorial by Joshua Gee (*ibid.*, sec. 698). In the West Indies piracy was still a major curse, though the capture and execution of the notorious Rackham, Vane, and others suggested that the situation might soon yield before vigorous action. Worn out by the obstinacy of the Jamaica assembly, Governor Lawes proposed repeatedly that a resort be had to parliamentary taxation of the island, as Robert Hunter had suggested for New York a decade before. Barbados was reduced to a state of chaos when, after the recall of Governor Lowther, two appointees in succession died before assuming the governorship, while the council was torn by factional rivalries. The island was also disturbed by fears of an ecclesiastical court, which vied with the vice admiralty court of Massachusetts as an object of popular distrust and hatred. For the improvement of Indian relations on the continent the board of trade made an interesting suggestion when they added to the Nova Scotia instructions an article for the encouragement of intermarriage between British settlers and the aborigines and proposed that this policy be applied in the older colonies as well.

While many of the papers calendared hark back to issues raised in earlier volumes, others indicate what were to be some of the most pressing problems of the years to come: colonial currency, the Acadians, and trade with the foreign West Indies. That the *Calendar* has now reached the third decade of the eighteenth century is a cause for congratulation to its able editor, Cecil Headlam, and for satisfaction to all students of the period.

Yale University. LEONARD W. LABAREE.

Les origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française, 1715–1782. Par DANIEL MORNET, professeur de littérature française à la Sorbonne. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1933. Pp. 552. 60 fr.)

IT is encouraging—at least for those who make a living from the study of history—to reflect that no subject is ever wholly written out. After one

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hundred and fifty years of research and dispute, there would seem to be little to add to our knowledge of the intellectual background of the French Revolution. Yet M. Mornet has managed to add a good deal. The most obvious novelty of this book is the extraordinary thoroughness with which it pursues eighteenth century writers from the first-rate to the tenth-rate, from Voltaire to Tifaut de la Noue, and still not content, continues the pursuit of the ideas of these men into newspapers, clubs, salons, schools, *cahiers,* into all sorts of odd crannies of provincial life. M. Mornet has given one of the best possible examples of that kind of intellectual history which is really a branch of social history—the description of the mental furniture of the ordinary man. Of course, as long as old periodicals, even old family letters and other manuscripts remain untapped, there is no end to the possible accumulation of detail on such a subject. M. Mornet himself is reduced to the method of sampling, to what he calls "enquêtes indirectes" into the spread of the ideas of the *philosophes.* His chapter IX., "Quelques exemples: Un abbé de cour—un gentilhomme campagnard—deux petites bourgeoises parisiennes—un jeune bourgeois de province—la jeunesse de quelques révolutionnaires", could be continued into volumes. Now this massing of facts is not in itself interesting. M. Mornet writes clearly—he is the author of an *Histoire de la clarté française* —and occasionally a striking incident or anecdote rises to the surface of his catalogue, but on the whole the book is heavy and dull.

M. Mornet himself would doubtless maintain that the second novel quality of his book springs directly from the first. He does, in spite of the clogging mass of his material, attack the old problems implicit in his subject: How far was the work of the *philosophes* responsible for the outbreak of the Revolution? What was the respective rôle of interests and ideas in preparing for the Revolution? Were the political ideas of the *philosophes* absurdly Utopian, tailored to fit an unreal, abstract man? What was the part of Freemasonry in bringing about the Revolution? To these questions he gives answers remarkable for their moderation and common sense. He is bound by his official position at the Sorbonne to attack Taine and to support the Fathers of the Revolution. But he accepts neither the extreme economic determinism of Mathiez nor the superficial Republican idealism of Aulard. He is convinced that without the extraordinary penetration of the ideas of the *philosophes* into all classes of French society the States-General of 1789 would not have been a revolutionary body. He holds that the kind of political ideas he finds at work in the crowd before 1789 are far from Utopian or abstract, that they reflect real grievances and assume real men. He insists—and this is an interesting point—that "les origines de la Révolution sont une histoire; l'histoire de la Révolution en est une autre" (p. 471). He is inclined to question the planned participation of Masonic bodies as such in pre-Revolutionary propaganda, and rejects Cochin's assimilation of Freemasonry to a

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political "machine" in the American sense; but he admits that planning, political organizing of minorities, and propaganda account for the actual complexion of the third estate in the States-General of 1789 (p. 384). Altogether a temperate attitude, free from partisan bitterness. It is possible that M. Mornet's overwhelming acquaintance with such facts as that "L. Boutry, d'Alençon, lit Lemaître de Claville et La Bruyère" (p. 213) explains the judicious, balanced nature of his conclusions. One is inclined, however, to assume that M. Mornet is judicious by temperament. It may well be that there was a slight marginal utility left to the last fact he accumulated; it is more likely that before he was half way through his heap his conclusions were fully formed. After that point (which the individual *can* determine by the exercise of critical and artistic conscience) further facts are about as useful as the facts to be obtained from the experimental flipping of a coin to the millionth time.

Harvard University. CRANE BRINTON.

Mémoires du général de Caulaincourt, duc de Vicence, grand écuyer de l'Empereur. Introduction et notes de JEAN HANOTEAU. Tome III., *L'agonie de Fontainebleau.* (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1933. Pp. 495. 30 fr.)

VOLUMES I. and II. of this work, reviewed in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1933, covered the period from Erfurt to Lützen. The present volume takes up the story with the Congress of Châtillon and carries that story to Elba. One regrets that Caulaincourt did not continue his memoirs to treat of the Hundred Days. But the three volumes now after a century made accessible to historians represent a brilliant addition to Napoleonic literature.

The "Agony of Fontainebleau" was quite as much the Calvary of Caulaincourt as of Napoleon. This honest, loyal, blunt soldier is still condemned to serve a more tortuous and intellectual man than himself. No document has ever made clearer the complex material with which the Allies had to deal when they entered Paris. Essentially, "power lay in the streets". The Allies had no fixed plan, least of all of a Bourbon restoration, and they were of course torn with dissension and jealousy. Napoleon wanted to salvage what he could of his empire by his time-honored device of forcing the enemy to appear intransigent. Talleyrand, backed by a handful of royalists, perceived that a Bourbon restoration was as inevitably France's one way out as the Consulate had been the one way out in 1799 for a republic oscillating between Jacobinism and royalism. Caulaincourt claims the French nation wanted the regency of Marie Louise and the King of Rome; but he does not convince the reader that they wanted anything effectively except peace. He is naïvely unimpressed with Talleyrand's shrewd prophecy that, given a regency, Napo-

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leon would be constantly listening at the door. In fact, he shows in this third and last volume of his memoirs the same inability to comprehend Talleyrand's political insights that he exhibited in the first two. Yet he himself records that Napoleon agreed with Talleyrand in the Bourbon solution—once the emperor gave over poker for political judgment!

It was Caulaincourt of course who negotiated the first abdication, and a difficult assignment he found it. His was the task of scaling down Napoleon's impossible demands, of attempting to bluff Alexander and the Allies into believing the army was still imperialist, and of braving the dislike of Talleyrand's party, to whom he appeared a misguided and over-loyal obstructionist. Marmont's defection and Ney's candid diplomacy broke up the bluff; and only Alexander's loyalty to his word of honor salvaged Elba for the emperor and Parma for the empress.

The importance of the memoirs derives not merely from their vivid, direct, and detailed account of a confused period. It derives even more from the very naïveté that Talleyrand must have found so tiresome in Caulaincourt. Talleyrand's intellectual honesty enabled him to embrace duplicity with a smile. Caulaincourt's soldierly code got him into frightful moral jams. He ruefully admits that he lied to Alexander when he claimed that the return of the Comte d'Artois to Paris as lieutenant general of France would consolidate the army behind Napoleon at Fontainebleau. He admits sadly that he had sometimes to choose between obeying his sovereign's capricious decisions and championing Napoleon's and France's interests, which, unlike Talleyrand, he still doggedly identifies with each other. He thinks Ney should either have served Napoleon's interests more loyally when he and Macdonald and Caulaincourt acted as fellow plenipotentiaries for Napoleon on April 10, 1814, or else he should have declined to represent the emperor at all. In short, the Agony of Fontainebleau was a problem in loyalty, for Caulaincourt as for other Frenchmen.

Volume III. throws even more new light on Napoleonic history than the previous volumes. For instance, in the light of Caulaincourt's detailed and candid account, it seems no longer feasible to reject the oft-rejected incident of Napoleon's attempted suicide.

Finally, Volume III. contains, besides the excellent notes M. Hanoteau has taught us to expect of him, and an index, a most valuable appendix. The "original manuscript" of the Caulaincourt memoirs was lost when the Germans destroyed the family château in 1917, and M. Hanoteau based Volumes I. and II. on the "Paris manuscript". In August, 1933, after the first two volumes had been published, an architect who was clearing the débris of the château in order to replace it with a new edifice, discovered in an iron box, and unharmed, the "original manuscript". In the appendix of Volume III., M. Hanoteau gives the variants. Incidentally, comparison demonstrated to

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him that the "original manuscript" contained many corrections which the Paris manuscript lacks, and we may therefore conclude that the "original" is a later version and the Paris manuscript is actually the original. The appendix of Volume III. is the final evidence offered by M. Hanoteau that the most brilliant "find" of many years, in the field of Napoleonic history, has gained an editor worthy of his high responsibility.

The University of Virginia. STRINGFELLOW BARR.

British Colonial Government after the American Revolution, 1782–1820. By HELEN TAFT MANNING, Dean of Bryn Mawr College. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, XXVI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1933. Pp. xii, 568. $4.00.)

As Dr. Manning points out, the period after the American Revolution and the abolition of the board of trade "is perhaps the most obscure in the three and a quarter centuries of British colonization". Previous accounts have either been quite general or particular only from a colonial point of view. By publishing the results of her very extensive research in neglected records, therefore, the author has filled in some almost empty pages of history. It is not her fault that she can make no very startling revelations, for the motto of the day was *quieta non movere*. In Part I. of her book, which is in many ways a continuation of L. W. Labaree's *Royal Government in America*, she treats colonial institutions generally with an accompanying essay on the administrative machinery before 1812. In Part II. she deals singly with Canada, the West Indies, the Cape (except assisted immigration), Ceylon, Mauritius, and Australia, concluding with two chapters on the colonial office as it grew up after 1812. Since the main emphasis is on administration in comprehensive detail, much less attention is given to the obscure evolution of new colonial policies, part of whose character is foreshadowed (pp. 4-8), but whose general emergence occurred immediately after the date chosen with which to close this study.

The events of 1775-1782 did not greatly alter the character of colonial administration. Most of Shelburne's reforms were either short-lived or evaded, like his act against absentee officeholders. Stubborn inertia and preoccupation with patronage had little chance of being remedied during the Napoleonic period. Unity, crispness, and financial strictness began to emerge about 1812 and are attributable largely to Henry Goulburn under Lord Bathurst's secretaryship. Yet some large determinants of action had to be accommodated or resisted, among them the antislavery movement, the importance of the West Indies as bases for trade, anxiety to secure strategic naval stations (notably on the way to the Orient), and the question of applying elsewhere the principles in the Quebec Act of respecting former European systems in conquered

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colonies and of retaining legislative power over them in London. The chapters on the origin of the colonial office are to a considerable degree historical news. There is an interesting difference with R. L. Schuyler in interpreting colonial slavery legislation (pp. 508–509).

On the whole, while the volume provides a lucid and substantiated account of British colonial administration, it will be most helpful when used along with histories of the separate colonies. Canada is a convenient example, particularly since A. L. Burt has synthesized his studies in *The Old Province of Quebec*, for the two authors reach quite different conclusions on several matters. It is not so much that Dean Manning could not be expected to give the same close attention to colonial as to British history as that London provides her point of view and most of her information and that the very emphasis on colonial problems in colonial histories affords a convenient counterpoise. It might be added that the bibliographical note does not include all the materials cited in footnotes and that R. L. Schuyler's edition of Josiah Tucker (1931) considerably invalidates the first footnote of the book.

Columbia University. J. B. Brebner.

The Rise of Castlereagh. By H. M. Hyde, Sometime Exhibitioner of Magdalen College, Oxford. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xii, 478. $8.40.)

Professor C. K. Webster has restored the reputation of Lord Castlereagh as diplomatist and statesman. But the rehabilitation has been confined to foreign affairs. The impression still prevails that in domestic politics and in the conduct of Irish affairs, 1797–1801, the influence of Lord Castlereagh was baneful. The book under review deals with his public and private life down to 1801. It gives the usual, somewhat tedious, account of ancestry; we learn about his education and training for public life; the Irish scene is described with a considerable amount of detail; and, as might be expected, the greater part of the book deals with the eventful years, 1797–1801, the union with England, and Lord Castlereagh's share in bringing this about.

Mr. Hyde has made good use of the Londonderry MSS., of private and official papers of colleagues and other contemporaries of Castlereagh, and of a mass of printed primary and secondary material dating from or dealing with this period. Selections from letters and other documents are sprinkled generously through the book; numerous footnotes supply references to sources and other works; several excellent illustrations brighten the heavy story; appendixes give the descent and family connections of Lord Castlereagh and the names of the Irish privy councilors of his time; the book has a brief bibliography and a good index.

The point of view of the author is revealed in the opening sentence of the introduction: "There are few characters in British history that have been

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treated with more unmerited hatred than that of Lord Castlereagh." Mr. Hyde seeks to correct impressions and to remove prejudices; he pleads for a judgment based on a knowledge of all relevant facts and an understanding of the ramifications of the Irish problem at the close of the eighteenth century. He is convincing when he deals with the family life of Lord Castlereagh. There can be little doubt that the rumors of his incontinence had their origins in hatred and in putrid fancy. The new information supplied by Mr. Hyde deepens the conviction that Irish politics and the Irish government before the union were corrupt to the core; that the island was a cauldron seething with passion; and that the hands of the opponents of the union were not cleaner than those of its promoters. The youthful Castlereagh is portrayed as something of a reformer, who early showed that he possessed the insight that distinguishes the statesman. When dealing with the points mentioned, the author is on solid ground. But it tends to become boggy when he tackles the topics of the suppression of the rebellion and the achievement of the union with England.

Mr. Hyde insists, and rightly so, that Castlereagh must be judged by the standards of the time and place, and that the epithet "bloody", applied to Castlereagh, was a libel. But even when the legitimate allowances are made, we can hardly say more than that Mr. Hyde has done his best with a bad case. He admits that at times the government made use of disreputable witnesses and "strange procedure" in prosecuting traitors (p. 181–183); that disloyal militiamen were sentenced to "from five hundred up to fifteen hundred lashes apiece" (p. 188); and that the description of the punishment meted out to rebels forms a "literary chamber of horrors" (p. 251). But in asking for a historical judgment favorable to Castlereagh, Mr. Hyde seems to miss the import of some of his own quotations. Contemporaries spoke of the methods used as "a dreadful business", "the most frightful spectacle which ever disgraced a royal residence save the seraglio" (pp. 188, 251). The lord lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis, looked upon the negotiations and jobbings that preceded the passage of the Act of Union as "dirty work"; he hated himself for engaging in it. And Mr. Hyde concedes, "If Castlereagh was troubled with similar conscientious scruples he did not show them, nor did his pride suffer like that of the Lord-Lieutenant" (p. 326).

The book is frankly partisan; it contains much that is irrelevant; and it is dull reading. But it sheds fresh light on a murky period; and it enriches our knowledge of men, events, and policies.

The University of Wisconsin. PAUL KNAPLUND.

Fiji and the Fijians, 1835–1856. By G. C. HENDERSON, M.A., Professor Emeritus of History, Adelaide University. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson. 1931. Pp. xi, 333. 25*s*.)

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THIS volume is an elucidation of the journal of one of the first Wesleyan missionaries in the Fiji Islands, from 1840 to 1853, the Reverend Thomas Williams, who is considered the principal authority on the state of society among the Fijians when Europeans first came in contact with them. The book is divided into nineteen chapters, contains thirty-nine maps and illustrations, has a well-selected bibliography, and an adequate index. Every page bears witness to the enormous amount of original research and the painstaking scholarship of the author. He is always judicious and well-balanced in his treatment of facts and principles and he leads the reader through the maze of missionary zeal and religious fanaticism with scholarly confidence and superb skill.

His chapter on the Fijian people is remarkable for its clarity and its frankness. Their primitive religion was much brighter and far more ennobling than the missionaries were willing to admit. This is clearly demonstrated even though the Fijian had no shame in the consumption of human flesh. Their gods approved of it and it not only gave them a feast but a thoroughgoing method of revenge upon their enemies. Incessant warfare explains their fiendish cruelty and their pleasure in scenes of horror. War to them as to the European was the greatest sport and the greatest interest in life. The message of Christian love carried by the earnest missionaries was of little influence until it was sustained by a force greater than the Fijian had ever known before. "There is not one instance in the records of the missionaries themselves from 1835 to 1856 of a Fijian native having turned his back to heathenism from a conviction of the saving power of the Gospel of Christ." They accepted Christianity because they learned that the white man's god could confer great benefits and was much to be dreaded and feared. It was the demonstration of power—the warships and the muskets—that caught and held them and made possible the transformation of their social order.

The chapter on the gospel of hard work is a splendid sermon for all mankind. This the author considers the real way of salvation for the native people of the Pacific world. Unless this is learned, no singing, praying, or study of the Scriptures are of any avail. In the first period of contact with Christianity the turning point in Fiji was the battle of Kamba in 1855 in which the power of the white man's god was fully demonstrated. "The triumph of Christianity . . . was due in the last analysis to the whole of the white man's civilization but especially to those forces that conveyed an impression of irresistible power."

The author criticizes the missionaries for their attempt to drive out polytheism while they preached the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and for teaching the gospel of love in the same breath with a hell of unending torture. Yet he leaves the reader impressed with the undying faith and zeal of these early pioneers of civilization who suffered with their families every hardship and

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peril in order to serve Him who said "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature".

The author has made a contribution of the first importance not only to the history of Fiji, but to the history of the triumph of Christianity and European civilization in the Pacific world.

The University of Iowa. W. Ross Livingston.

Sir Edward Grey und das Foreign Office. Von Dr. Margret Boveri. [Schriftenreihe der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik in Berlin und des Instituts für Auswärtige Politik in Hamburg, Heft 12.] (Berlin-Grunewald: Walther Rothschild. 1933. Pp. vii, 198. 8 M.)

One of the most striking revelations of the *Grosse Politik* was the rôle of Fritz von Holstein, who dominated German foreign policy from the fall of Bismarck until almost the end of the Bülow period. Then there appeared in the *British Documents,* as the author of innumerable "minutes", Sir Eyre Crowe, a fervid *Deutschfresser,* whom Hermann Lutz has called "der böse Geist" of the British foreign office, and Sir Arthur Nicolson, Grey's closest adviser and certainly no friend of Germany. Were foreign ministers then mere puppets in the hands of their subordinates? To answer this question in the case of Sir Edward Grey, Dr. Boveri has made a penetrating analysis of the British diplomatic correspondence, especially the "minutes", and the memoirs and biographies of British politicians. She is concerned, not with what British policy was or its wisdom, but with the question how it was determined, whether by the crown, the foreign office, the foreign secretary, the cabinet, Parliament, or the country; and the result is a book of first-rate importance.

The influence of King Edward VII. was, in the author's opinion, "comparatively small" (p. 19).[1] Of the two prime ministers under whom Grey served, Campbell-Bannerman was easily won over to Grey's policy, while Asquith was in full sympathy with that policy and defended it before cabinet and Parliament when necessary. Ripon, Morley, and Haldane were the colleagues upon whom Grey relied most; Winston Churchill, for all his assertiveness, counted for little. If at the beginning Grey was chary about consulting the cabinet, which did not like his policy (a policy, Dr. Boveri argues, largely forced on Grey by what Lansdowne had done), the foreign secretary became, as the years passed, more and more conscious of the value of cabinet support, which enabled him to resist inconvenient pressure from either France or Germany. The military conversations of 1906 were not at first communicated to

[1] J. A. Spender, *Fifty Years of Europe* (New York, 1933), expresses a different opinion. The difference perhaps arises from the fact that Dr. Boveri relies exclusively on documentary evidence, whereas Mr. Spender writes as a journalist who was on intimate terms with the leading British politicians.

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the cabinet, but when Grey perceived that they might bind England too tightly to France, he informed the cabinet and submitted to it the notes exchanged with Cambon in November, 1912. The influence of the cabinet was also strongly exerted in the negotiations with Germany at the time of the Haldane mission.

Much the most interesting section of the book deals with the influence on Grey of the permanent officials of the foreign office, whose "minutes" are subjected to close scrutiny. At the beginning, Grey was unfamiliar with the problems before him, and consequently the advice of Sir Charles Hardinge, the permanent undersecretary, was of the greatest value. It was Hardinge, in the author's judgment, who indoctrinated Grey with the idea of European equilibrium and laid the foundations for the policy of a "free hand". Dr. Boveri is, however, skeptical of the actual effect upon Grey of the anti-German tirades of Crowe and the arguments of Nicolson for strengthening the *Entente*. Occasionally Crowe was rebuked; more often his suggestions were ignored. Nor could Nicolson persuade Grey to convert the *Entente* into an alliance. No doubt the atmosphere of the foreign office was hostile to Germany, but the author insists that Grey refused to be run by his office, especially in the later years as he acquired knowledge and experience. She believes that he devised his own policy, in the light of what cabinet and country would approve, and that he tried, if not always successfully, to conduct that policy on a high moral basis. Those who think of Grey in the mordant terms of Hermann Lutz will hardly recognize him in the sympathetic picture drawn by this German lady. In view of his recollections of what he considered German blackmailing in the nineties, of his personal sympathies with France, and of the tendencies of the foreign office, "it is perhaps even astonishing", concludes Dr. Boveri, "that Grey did not let himself be prejudiced more strongly against Germany than was actually the case" (p. 192).

The University of Chicago. BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

What Me Befell: the Reminiscences of J. J. Jusserand. (London: Constable and Company; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1933. Pp. ix, 346. $4.50.)

FEW books of reminiscence more delightful than this have ever been written. The scenes are most various—a charming French landscape and country life in boyhood days, Paris and London in student years, Tunis, Egypt, Constantinople, London in the eighties, Paris in the nineties, Copenhagen, St. Petersburg, Washington and many other American places, all seen with eyes observant of scenery and man—and birds. The persons are most numerous, interesting, and distinguished—monarchs like Christian IX. and Nicholas II., writers like Henry James and Taine and Gaston Paris and Andrew Lang, statesmen like Cambon and Gladstone and Morley and

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Kitchener and Hay and especially Roosevelt—everywhere the best of society, and from each person interesting sayings to record or letters to quote. And the story is that of the rise of a sturdy and resolute young man, exceptionally gifted in intellect and character, who, determined after 1870 to serve his country with all his best powers, rises from one diplomatic post and success to another, comes to his best service as the famous ambassador of his country to the United States, and holds that position with acceptance and skill during the most critical of modern periods and through a term of years almost unexampled in the history of diplomacy. In the year when Mr. Jusserand was president of the American Historical Association, the theme he chose for his presidential address was "The School for Ambassadors".[1] He might almost have taken that for the title of this all-too-brief autobiography, instead of the phrase he chose from *The King's Quair*, so fully and clearly does it show us the development of an accomplished diplomat, through varied experiences and by the constant exercise of a brilliant and well-stored mind.

The book is written lightly, with the same sparkle that marked its author's conversation. The retired ambassador did not set out to compose a stodgy chronicle of diplomatic maneuvers, but a narrative of the brighter aspects and episodes of a diplomatic life. Not often, till he gets to Washington at least, does he diverge into grave discussion of important events. When he does so, one perceives at once that this cultivated and appreciative cosmopolite is above all else a patriotic Frenchman. One who believes French aid to our Revolution to have been simply an act of generosity, or who can say of the Louisiana treaty, "The sentiment that dominated the negotiation" (by Napoleon Bonaparte!) "was: We have helped them to be free, let us help them to be great", will not incur reprobation at home from those to whom the "international mind" is anathema. Few now defend the sentiment, "My country, right or wrong", but it is proper for an ambassador to believe that his country has always been right.

Among the many warm appreciations of what the ambassador saw in America, nothing is pleasanter than his affectionate admiration for the first President Roosevelt. Now that criticism of that great man has become, in this next generation, so abundant, it does us good to be reminded how wonderful a man he was. In one of the few argumentative passages of the book (pp. 237-238), Mr. Jusserand even upholds Roosevelt's version of the Venezuela incident of December, 1902.

J. F. J.

La Révolution russe. Par FERNAND GRENARD. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1933. Pp. 392. 30 fr.)

THE author of this book, if I am not mistaken, was the French consul

[1] *American Historical Review*, XXVII. 426-464.

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general in Moscow about the same time that Bruce Lockhart was there. The difference between the two men is made plain by their respective books; the latter told his personal reminiscences in a book which reads like a detective story and which quickly became a best seller, the former is now presenting a well-balanced account of the Russian Revolution which is at the same time an interpretation both of its causes and its spirit. While personal acquaintance with Russia underlies the whole narrative of Grenard, there are few outward traces of his own experiences in his book. Various sources of information, among them the contemporary Russian newspapers, have been used. His ability to understand the basic trends of Russian history and civilization is happily supported by his deep knowledge of the Orient as well. He traveled extensively both in Tibet and in Chinese Turkestan and has published two valuable books on these parts of Asia. Thus the range of his experience is unusually wide, making it possible for him to compare the development of Russia with both East and West. His book is an attempt not merely to outline the course of events of the Russian Revolution but to give an adequate idea of its historical and cultural background.

Grenard starts by analyzing both the organization of the imperial government and the work of social forces in Russia before the Revolution. After this he speaks of the liberal and revolutionary movement prior to the Revolution of 1905, which he treats as the prologue of the later movement, and of the period of constitutional experiment lasting until the war. Then follow chapters on the war and the political conflict during the war, the first, or March period of the Russian Revolution, and, Soviet Russia from the November Revolution up through the first Five-Year Plan. While the author's analysis of the causes of the Revolution is both keen and stimulating, the reader would perhaps like more details in the chapters discussing the course of events.

One of the primary causes of the Revolution in Russia is, for Grenard, the cultural rift (a result of Peter the Great's reform) between the Europeanized and educated *élite* and the uneducated and nationalistic masses. While criticizing the czarist autocracy the Russian intelligentsia was pathetically out of touch with the masses. This was made perfectly clear after the overthrow of czarism. Kerensky, according to Mr. Grenard, gave the Russian *élite* the last chance to make itself acceptable to the masses. General Kornilov's rebellion destroyed this last chance, after which the Bolshevik Revolution was unavoidable.

Grenard considers the Russian Revolution a purely Russian movement. He is primarily interested in this national character and does not pay much attention to its international aspects. While Lenin and Trotsky attempted to build up Russian Communism as an international force, Stalin understood that the first aim of the Russian Revolution should be to reconstruct the life of the *Russian* people.

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Grenard's style is vigorous and precise. There are some slips and errors in his narrative of events but they are not very important. The bibliography might certainly be more complete. Taken as a whole, Grenard's work might be classed among the best books on the Russian Revolution so far available.

Yale University. GEORGE VERNADSKY.

Foreign Investments in China. By C. F. REMER, Professor of Economics in the University of Michigan. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xxi, 708. $5.00.)

"WHAT is the true picture of the international economic relations of China as they are revealed in the statistics of foreign investment and of the international financial position of the country?" Such is the question for which Professor Remer seeks to provide an authoritative answer. The work upon which his study of this question is based, undertaken in the summer of 1928 under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, was carried out in collaboration with experts and competent research workers in China and in the countries principally involved in Chinese trade and finance. The material thus gathered was carefully checked against the available findings of earlier students of the subject, and the resulting conclusions, for which the author himself claims only approximate accuracy, may be regarded as approximations leaving little room for subsequent improvement.

The volume is divided into two parts. The first presents a general view of foreign investments in China and of the equally important facts relating to Chinese holdings in foreign lands and to the balance of "in-payments" and "out-payments" of specie. Part II., actually written first, consists of individual studies setting forth in greater detail the investments, investment policies, and commercial activities of the various interested foreign countries.

From approximately U. S. $800 million in 1902, the total valuation of income producing foreign holdings in China rose to U. S. $1600 million in 1914 and to $3300 million in 1931. These totals exclude foreign owned properties dedicated to missionary or other philanthropic purposes but include all income producing holdings of foreigners residing in China. During the period 1902–1931, "direct" business investment, investment in enterprises under foreign management, increased much more rapidly than investment in government obligations, but foreign capital as a whole has shown little tendency to venture into the field of "indirect" business investment, loans to concerns under Chinese management.

Of especial interest to the student of recent political and diplomatic developments are the facts relating to Japan's place in the picture. In 1902 Japan's total investment in China amounted to no more than U. S. $1 million; by 1914 it had risen to U. S. $220 million; and in 1931 Japan, with investments amounting to U. S. $1137 million, was a close second to Great

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Britain in respect to the magnitude of her financial stake in China. Whereas the British share in Chinese investment constituted only 5.9 per cent of the total of British foreign investments, Japan's holdings in China amounted, in 1931, to 82 per cent of all Japanese investments abroad. Equally significant, perhaps, is the fact that Japanese investments, between 1914 and 1931, increased more rapidly in Shanghai and in the rest of China than in the region now known as "Ta Manchu Tikuo"; the rates of increase (as tabulated on p. 473) being: in Manchuria 415 per cent, in the rest of China 541, and in Shanghai 717.

It is the reviewer's hope that the abundant statistical material contained in the book will not frighten away the prospective but nonstatistical reader, for it is a work of tremendous value to all whose studies or interests include a consideration of the Far East. Here indeed are imposing arrays of figures, but of figures with a meaning understandable to the layman, and illuminated by a clear—at times brilliant—interpretation of the difficulties, the conflicting interests, and the national policies which to-day revolve about the Chinese Republic.

Simmons College. G. Nye Steiger.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Founding of Maryland. By Matthew Page Andrews, Litt.D. (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company. 1933. Pp. xii, 367. $4.50.)

This timely publication appears during the year that Maryland is celebrating the tercentenary of the founding of the first proprietary province in America. Faithful to its title, it limits itself strictly to a study of the colony's genesis, carrying the story to the close of the first proprietary period, practically through the seventeenth century. Although authorities are cited for major statements, giving evidence of sound research, the work is not weighed down with documentation, as it is obviously intended for the lay reader with an interest in Maryland lore. The popular appeal will be strengthened by the presence of several illustrations and two maps. It makes a careful survey of the relation of the first three Lords Baltimore to Maryland history, evaluating their contribution with clear-cut, sympathetic, but discriminating judgment, which holds the balance level between Catholic and Protestant prejudices. The author shows the sincerity of Cecil Calvert's religious toleration, although fully recognizing his desire to attract Protestant settlers as a means of developing Maryland materially, and also brings out clearly his comprehension of the dependence of freedom of conscience upon separation of church and state. As a suitable background for the appearance in the young colony in 1649 of an act which granted a large degree of religious freedom,

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although not so much as often alleged, there is given a sketch of the origin of the idea of freedom of conscience (pp. 144–150).

Despite the author's previous delvings into this field of history and the work of other writers, there is a certain freshness in the telling of the story, due in part to new research and in part to the attractive literary style in which it is written. The frequent introduction and interpretation of certain underlying conditions which affected significant events is to be commended; such are the description, political and economic, of the Elizabethan age into which the first Lord Calvert was born (pp. 8–17), the emphasis on the "experimental urge" which had spurred on his predecessors in American adventures, the peculiar religious situation which obtained in England under the Presbyterian-bred Anglican, James I., Calvert's royal friend (pp. 19–20), and his association with other leaders in the colonization of America—Sir Edwin Sandys, for instance.

Some episodes are given greater attention than they are usually accorded. The first conference of the executives of two neighboring English colonies, Maryland and Virginia, and Lord George Calvert's pre-Maryland colonial venture at Avalon are cases in point. Color is given to some pages by effective quotation from Indian speeches.

There is an instance of needless repetition of a paragraph (pp. 72, 175) and of erroneous citation of authority (p. 349, n. 8), but these are negligible and insignificant details in a very fine piece of workmanship, completed by a full, adequate, and well-classified index. For greater convenience in case of hurried reference, an appendix contains summary biographical sketches of the three proprietors treated in the text.

Goucher College. ELLA LONN.

Biographical Sketches of those who attended Harvard College in the Classes 1690–1700. With Bibliographical and other Notes by CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON, Class of 1926. [Massachusetts Historical Society. Sibley's *Harvard Graduates,* volume IV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1933. Pp. x, 573. $7.50.)

IN Mr. Clifford K. Shipton the Massachusetts Historical Society has found an able editor to carry on the series of biographical sketches of Harvard graduates begun by J. L. Sibley in his three volumes, the last of which was issued in 1885. The new editor treats his subjects on substantially the same scale as his predecessor, though in a few details the method used in the new volume differs from that of the older ones. The sketches of non-graduates are here included among those of the graduates. The authorities are named in footnotes instead of in general lists at the end of the sketches. Short titles have been substituted for the full descriptive titles in the bibliographies of the writings of the graduates in Volumes II.–III. The most fundamental

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departure from Sibley's precedent is, however, in the manner in which the data are presented. The original editor seems to have been content to compile a reference book, containing the relevant information, but not attempting much interpretation or any save elementary characterization of his subjects. Mr. Shipton is equally careful as to facts, but he is interested also in liveliness of style and seeks to make his sketches wherever possible approach more vivid and better rounded biographical portraiture.

Professor Morison contributes an excellent introduction, on the general aspect of the roll of Harvard graduates from 1690 to 1700, on the college in the period, on Mr. Sibley and his work, and, most interesting of all, on "Seniority, 'Placing', and Titles" at Harvard in the late seventeenth century. The popularly accepted doctrine is that the order of the names of Harvard students in the printed commencement lists and triennial catalogues "is the order of the social rank of their parents". Mr. Morison shows that it is unsafe to draw "social conclusions from a student's place in a seventeenth-century class".

In a work of this size, involving so many items, there must be errors, but the task seems to have been very carefully done and the standard of accuracy seems to be very high—which drives the captious reviewer to complaints or queries on completely trivial matters. For one such, is it useful or wise to rely so much on records of fines paid in college as indicating the conduct of undergraduates? The result is that the behavior of the subjects of the biographies while in college seems often to be measured in terms of the amount of glass they broke. The broken glass *motif* becomes tiresome, especially when two successive sketches deal with men who, on the evidence of the record of fines, "led a blameless undergraduate existence". Only by good luck are records which actually indicate how undergraduates behave in their lighter moments preserved for posterity; when they are not, incomplete or inconclusive evidence is meaningless unless very cautiously used. Here and there perhaps the desire for vivid writing has led to exaggeration or to a misleading statement. Professor Morison's sentence: "Benjamin Colman (1692) swung his cutlass in a fight with a French corsair, and as harbinger of Boston Unitarianism enjoyed the intellectual adventure of annoying the Mathers" is effective but might easily be misinterpreted. Colman's annoyance of the Mathers is after all less characteristic of his life as a whole than his peaceful agreement with them, and the heralding of Unitarianism which he can be credited with seems very limited indeed, since, as Mr. Shipton points out on a later page, Colman was orthodox in his Calvinism, rigid against Arminian innovations, and at the Brattle Street Church differed from the old school divines only in matters of polity and organization. The descriptions of certain books in the bibliographies include no references to the fact that in them are to be found prefaces, or attestations, contributed by others than the authors

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of the books themselves. To have included references to such items would have helped greatly future bibliographers and possibly actually have shed light on friendships between writers or at least professional intimacies between them. The Massachusetts Historical Society might well consider including in future volumes of this series an index of titles of books listed in the bibliographies, and an index of contributions of prefaces or other supplementary material to the books. Such an addition should not be costly and would immensely increase the value to scholars of a series which has already proved itself indispensable to many and, as continued by Mr. Shipton, will surely increase greatly the extent of its usefulness.

Harvard University. KENNETH B. MURDOCK.

The Two Franklins, Fathers of American Democracy. By BERNARD FAŸ. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1933. Pp. xvi, 397. $3.50.)

ONE falls so easily under the spell of M. Faÿ's prose that it is difficult to give his thesis in this volume the critical examination which it deserves. The thesis itself is clearly set forth. "There have been few more radical changes of mind than the one which took place in America between 1790 and 1800." While Hamilton opposed the change, and Jefferson made use of it, it was really effected by other men, chief of whom was Benjamin Franklin Bache, a young Philadelphia journalist (p. v). In this momentous struggle to perpetuate democratic ideas Bache played his part with peculiar distinction because he had been well schooled in radical political philosophy, and in the ways of practical politicians, by his grandfather, Benjamin Franklin. Thus the two Franklins may be bracketed as "fathers of American democracy".

M. Faÿ is probably right in his interpretation of the downfall of the Federalists and the victory of the Democratic-Republicans, but he fails to establish the elder Franklin's paternal relation to the democratic forces of the "revolutionary" decade after 1790. In fact, the "apostle of modern times" appears in these pages as a very weary radical, who philosophically compromises with the conservatives in Pennsylvania in order to preserve certain equalitarian principles embodied in the state constitution of 1776. Even the delightful chapters on the Education of a Radical contain little evidence that "Benny" Bache learned from his grandfather how to hate aristocrats, and how to fight their theory of government when it became manifest in the Hamiltonian system.

In order to strike more effectively at the Federalists Bache in 1794 converted his Philadelphia *General Advertiser* into the *Aurora* and soon gained notoriety as an editor who was not afraid to drag Washington from his pedestal and treat him as the leader of an opposing political faction. But are the achievements of the *Aurora* sufficient warrant for the conclusion that

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Bache was "the man who first gave its form to radical opinion in the United States and fashioned the Democratic Party" (p. 361)? M. Faÿ might have been less certain at this point if he had given more weight to the material presented in C. A. Beard's *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*. No one can deny that the historians have neglected the editor of the *Aurora*, but few will be inclined to agree that Bache formulated the grand strategy of the Democrats and directed their mass attacks on the Federalist strongholds. M. Faÿ's enthusiastic exploitation of the riches of the Bache Collection has caused him to exaggerate the stature of his hero.

The Two Franklins is not a biography worthy of a place beside the author's *Franklin;* it is, however, a fascinating picture of American society at the close of the eighteenth century. There are vivid descriptions of the genteel Philadelphia of Hazel Street, Peale's Museum and Mrs. Bingham's drawing-room, and of the less familiar Philadelphia of noisy taverns, cheap circuses, Jacobin refugees, quarreling Irishmen, and crowds fleeing before the dread yellow fever. There are entertaining portraits of politicians, diplomats, and pamphleteers—handsome Edmond Genêt, supercilious George Hammond, modest John Jay, brutish William Cobbett, and scores of others. Political wirepulling and diplomatic maneuvering become quite logical and quite simple as M. Faÿ fits them into his scheme for the "revolution of 1800". Has he, perhaps, made them too simple and too logical? For example, how can he be so sure of the thoughts which passed through Washington's mind as John Jay set forth on his diplomatic mission to England (pp. 229–230)? Was John Jay's mind really as transparent to Lord Grenville as M. Faÿ would have us believe (p. 234)? What evidence is there for the assumption that Congress was prevented from declaring war against France in 1798 because Bache had won "the people" to the side of peace (pp. 350–361)? Many generalizations in this volume will disturb the meticulous historian; it will be read with enthusiasm by those who must have their history in gay romantic guise.

Columbia University. JOHN A. KROUT.

The Idea of National Interest: an Analytical Study in American Foreign Policy. By CHARLES A. BEARD. With the collaboration of G. H. E. Smith. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. ix, 583. $3.75.)

WHAT is "national interest", or *a* "national interest"? Charles Beard undertakes to answer the question by "exploring the use of the formula by responsible statesmen and publicists and by discovering the things and patterns of conduct—public and private—embraced within the scope of the formula" (p. 26). The answers run the gamut since there is agreement neither as to what is national nor as to what is an interest. The phrase has come to replace "will of the prince", "dynastic interest", "reason of

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state", and "national honor", although the last named still persists as what Beard calls a "sense of moral obligation". He finds that as used by most statesmen a national interest is a material interest. Washington wrote: "No nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interests; and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it [the maxim]". By thus excluding non-material considerations as not comprised in national interest the author has a good many parts left over when he comes to assemble his patterns: for example, the interest in promoting, or at least quickly recognizing, republican governments, protection of minorities, arbitration and peace, international coöperation, and such philanthropy as appeared in "Cuba Libra" in 1898, and in the Wilson crusade at Paris in 1919. These parts, Beard describes as a "psychological force" of determining importance, but by definition they were not "interests". And yet they interested a great many people.

Jefferson placed the national interest "in the heart of the national domain", and sought for the development of an agrarian economy of contented farmers. To Hamilton national interest meant, "consolidation of commercial, manufacturing, financial and agricultural interest at home, the promotion of trade in all parts of the world by the engines of diplomacy, the defense of that trade by a powerful navy, the supremacy of the United States in the Western Hemisphere, and the use of military and naval strength in the rivalry of nations to secure economic advantages for citizens of the United States" (p. 48). But neither pattern remained constant and in recent years while the agrarians, on the one hand, sought the intervention of their government to protect and increase their market abroad, the Second Republicanism of from Harding to Hoover was unable "to grasp the trident of the seas and the sceptre of world trade" because elements in the party lagged behind, turned Jeffersonian, or clung to "the hampering sentiments of moral obligations". "The opportunity to grasp the trident of commerce was allowed to pass" (p. 144). In a word, the patterns, which are very clear in Beard's mind, and not very obscure in history, were overlapped, confused, and blurred.

No one ever seems to have stopped to inquire whether the interest in question at a particular moment was likely to yield a profit, or not, for the taxpayer, nor can the author find that the successive Presidents and their executive assistants have usually tried to strike a trial balance before invoking the spell of the phrase. The old "simple theory of international trade", formulated with reference to differences among countries in respect of climate, soil, crude natural resources, and inherited crafts" was "invalidated", on the one hand, by the instability of government and, on the other, by industrialization and mechanization (p. 159). And yet statesmen continue to act as though driven by some iron necessity to support and extend an interest which is certainly not national, as in Manchuria, and may turn out to be no interest at all.

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The Idea of National Interest is provocative on every page. The author cannot easily escape the charge that he has taken the theme of an *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* and the *Economic Basis of Politics* and illustrated rather than proved it from the pages of the record of American foreign diplomacy. No one who in the future writes on the subject in whole or in part will be able to ignore Beard's statements; every student will have to agree or dissent and give his reasons. In this way it may be expected that the book, which seemed so important as to have assistance from the Social Science Research Council, will introduce into the study of American diplomatic history a needed note of realism.

But while the reviewer has the opportunity he begs to reaffirm that the Philippines came into the possession of the United States less by planning than by a "fortuitous concurrence of events" (p. 83). While it is quite true that from Perry to Mahan, Lodge, and Theodore Roosevelt, the idea of the utility of a naval base for trade with the Far East was nursed, nevertheless not even the "Big Navy Boys", as Beard is fond of calling them, started the Spanish-American War to get a naval base at Cavite.

The author has only given us, thus far, the curtainraiser. Another volume is to follow "to construct a consistent and tenable philosophy of national interest". Certainly such a philosophy we do not now possess. To-day an "American interest" is likely to be any interest which any American is able to persuade his government to adopt on his behalf. The principles of material interest-making, like those of tariff-making, are certain to be quite local—and expensive. That is the price we pay, or did pay, for the now vanishing privilege of governing ourselves. And how, to introduce another phase of the question which does not have much attention in the book under review, in a world of competing national states, can national interest be defined other than in terms of national power? The United States, no state, has any national interest outside its boundary except as some other state intervenes or threatens to intervene to influence the ordinary course of trade, or of military defense. Beard's next book ought to be even more important than this one and not necessarily because everyone will agree with it. He is working a new vein, a very rich one.

Princeton University. TYLER DENNETT.

Het Aandeel van den Amsterdamschen Handel aan den Opbouw van het Amerikaansche Gemeenebest. Door Jhr. Dr. P. J. VAN WINTER. Deel II. [Het Nederlandsch economisch-historisch Archief, 9.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1933. Pp. xxiv. 500.)

THE expectations aroused by the appearance of the first part of Dr. Van Winter's study in 1927 are not disappointed by this beautifully printed volume which continues and concludes it. Dr. Van Winter set himself the exceed-

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ingly laborious task of tracing in detail the part played in the development of the American republic until 1803 by Dutch capital and trade centered at Amsterdam. He has done more than that, for his account of commerce between the two countries is not limited to that which went in and out of Amsterdam. Rotterdam is also included and illuminating pages are devoted to the trade between the United States and the Dutch possessions in the East and West Indies. Nor is the study confined strictly to the time limit fixed. The mobilization of Dutch capital in 1804 to support the purchase of Louisiana is described and a well documented chapter in conclusion sketches the course of Dutch investments in the United States to the middle of the nineteenth century.

The sources used by Van Winter are of unusual range and richness. Nothing in print of value to his subject seems to have escaped him. What is of more importance for the quality of his work is the extent of his investigations in manuscript collections on both sides of the Atlantic. Many of these collections have been heretofore unexploited. He has had the courage to plunge into the almost bottomless pit of the notarial archives in Amsterdam as well as the endurance and skill needed to bring their treasures to the surface. To these he has added important material from the rapidly expanding riches of the Nederlandsch economisch-historisch Archief at The Hague, notably from the Stadnitski papers. The result is a clear and well-ordered study which at many points clears new ground for the economic history of both Holland and America. Even to Dutch historians the Van Staphorsts, the Willinks, and the Crommelins, outside their political activities, have been little more than names. Van Winter, with a thorough understanding of the intricacies of financial operations, shows them organizing and administering that rapid succession of "negotiations" which between 1787 and 1794 brought the financial strength of so many Dutch burghers to the support of the American republic. Hamilton's financial operations are described with equal insight and skill. Somewhat over one-fourth of the volume is devoted to the activities of that group of Dutch capitalists who came to be known in America as the Holland Land Company. One chapter is given to their ill-starred investments in American canal companies. If in general the treatment of their land operations follows my own study of that subject, Van Winter makes additions—and corrections—which are of distinct value. At times some phases of our early national history are treated with rather more detail than seems necessary, but it must be remembered that the book is designed for a public presumably unfamiliar with our past save in broad outline. The volume is enriched with excellent maps and valuable appendixes. There is a good index of names, not of subjects. It is only to be regretted that the language barrier will limit the use in our country of one of the most thorough studies in American history produced by a European scholar.

The University of Vermont. PAUL D. EVANS

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Slavery in Mississippi. By CHARLES SACKETT SYDNOR, University of Mississippi. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1933. Pp. xiii, 270. $3.50.)

THIS is an investigation of how slavery operated in a particular region rather than a description of how it developed, "for the growth of slavery in Mississippi was a numerical increase in slaves rather than an evolution of the system" (p. viii). The work offers a thoroughgoing study of the daily life of the slaves and a discussion of the profitableness of slavery. Further, and as a digression from the announced plan, there are accounts of the domestic slave trade, of contemporary opinions, and of the Mississippi Colonization Society. The study shows evidence of a generous use both of the wealth of material already known and of much other material brought to light by patient search.

While certain facts, remarks the author, "should have made the life of slaves harder and more laborious in this State than in the upper slave States" (p. viii), apparently such was not the case. The master's treatment of his slaves depended chiefly on his character. Food and clothing were reasonably satisfactory. The average slave did not perform an unreasonable amount of work in a day. Religious and moral training received considerably less attention than his physical well-being, education was almost entirely neglected, and brutal punishment was possible but rare. Except for the omnipresent danger of being sold, being a slave was not for the average Negro a dreadful lot.

The author questions the former assumption that staple-producing regions found practically their entire sustenance elsewhere, holding that most of the food for the slaves was raised on the plantation. Distance and a lack of transportation, the reviewer agrees, made certain regions self-sufficing, and many alert planters, even in the cotton and sugar regions of the Southwest, recognized the desirability of including vegetables and other fresh foods in the diet of their gangs. Some attempted to add an incentive to labor by permitting slaves to have garden "patches" of their own. Meat was increasingly hard to get as changes in transportation encouraged Western grain production at the expense of the production of live stock, and the Eastern markets began to compete with those of the South for the up-river live stock that remained. The relatively low price of cotton in certain periods was also a factor. The consequence was that an immense number of articles began to appear urging diversification and a greater attention to the production of foodstuffs. The net result was a large local production of food for plantation gangs. The Southern planter's own dietary was also mostly home grown. Against the author's conclusion, however, the following facts may be brought forward: accounts of the early abandonment of diversified farming, of an immense increase in plantation purchases of mid-Western bacon in the twenties, of numerous flatboats laden with food supplies tied up at almost

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every Mississippi River village, and of more than a five hundred per cent jump in the New Orleans receipts of bacon and pork, largely for reshipment to plantation regions, in the thirties and forties. Another piece of evidence is the sharp decline in Cincinnati pork prices during the Civil War. All these, with the census reports and the published diaries of Mississippi planters, testify to the grave inadequacy of local supplies. Definitive analysis of this shortage remains to be made.

The author seems to have placed much reliance on codes rather than on session laws and has given relatively little attention to the time of passage of laws or to the question of whether they were repealed, as in the punishment for harboring runaways (p. 115). Some pertinent topics are treated inadequately or not at all: crimes of slaves; changes in slave crime rates; capital punishment and life imprisonment; the question of compensation for slaves imprisoned or executed; and changes in birth and death rates. It seems that such notable exceptions as the wild excitement caused by the threatened Vicksburg district uprising of 1835 should be mentioned in connection with the usual equanimity of the white population. Finally, the care of plantation animals was intrusted to too few slaves to warrant the statement that "it is hardly conceivable that the slave would have suffered a shortage in this [meal], for in feeding the stock he had frequent access to the crib" (pp. 31–32).

There is a well-arranged bibliography and a useful index.

Iowa State College. V. Alton Moody.

The Antislavery Impulse, 1830–1844. By Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, Professor of Economics, Ohio Wesleyan University. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1933. Pp. ix, 298. $3.50.)

This work, dedicated to the late Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, had its origin in his American history seminar at the University of Michigan. Based upon a large amount of hitherto unused, and much of it hitherto unknown, material, Professor Barnes presents an interpretation of the antislavery movement that differs radically from that set forth in textbooks of American history. In place of William Lloyd Garrison, traditionally thought of as the driving force behind the movement, we have Theodore Dwight Weld, unmentioned in most histories but here set forth, with copious documentation, as the master mind in every stage of the effort between 1830 and 1844. In place of New England's traditional preëminence in the movement, we have the West with its "Lane rebels" and their numerous converts. Even with regard to New England abolitionism we have revision, for it is shown that the rural Methodists and Baptists were the backbone and strength of the cause in that section

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rather than the urban Congregationalists to whom prominence has always been given.

Professor Barnes finds the original impulse of the antislavery movement in the religious revivals conducted by Charles G. Finney. Finney taught that sin consists of selfishness and that true conversion brings "a preference for disinterested benevolence". By the early thirties there had been released among the host of Finney's converts a mighty impulse toward social reform and thousands were swept into the various organizations of Christian benevolence.

Weld was one of Finney's converts and as an assistant in his work became well acquainted with the technique of revivalism. He was a leader in the famous debate on slavery at Lane Seminary and when he became agent of the newly organized American Anti-Slavery Society he immediately sent out thirteen of the former Lane students as "evangelists of abolition". Under his guidance and inspiration they precipitated another great revival—a revival in abolitionism. The antislavery cause was made identical with religion. Between 1834 and 1836 Weld himself carried on campaigns in Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, and Western New York. Adopting the "new measures" of the Finney revivals, he would hold as many as twenty meetings in one community, frequently encountering such hostility as threatened his life but invariably converting opposition into allegiance before he was through. But the cost of his effort was grievous. "The most mobbed man in America", he returned broken in health and with his voice ruined for platform speaking. The work he had accomplished, however, was far-reaching, for his converts became missionaries and spread the gospel of abolitionism far and wide throughout the West.

In succeeding phases of the antislavery movement the influence of Weld is equally clearly set forth. Forced by the state of his health to abandon the plan of further speaking tours in the West, he gave direction to the work of others who went forth, he was a driving force in the petition phase, he wrote and edited books and pamphlets, and when the antislavery impulse passed to Washington he was found there assisting John Quincy Adams in the memorable fight on the floor of the House, this last not the least of his contributions.

How came it that a man so vital to the movement should have been forgotten in the years since? Professor Barnes answers this question. Weld, he points out, made it a principle never to accept office, never to speak at conventions or even attend them, not to speak in the larger cities or to permit his utterances to be reported in the antislavery press. Though the tracts he wrote were the most powerful of any, they appeared anonymously or under other names. "By his own action he thus prevented any tribute to his achievements, or public recognition of his authority."

Meanwhile the tradition was built up that Garrison, the "poster" of the

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movement, was its leader. Professor Barnes contends that Garrison as a leader was but "a name, an embodied motto, a figurehead of fanaticism". His "promiscuous villification of all individuals, institutions and beliefs with which he did not agree" so alienated churches and ministers that actually he became a dead weight upon the abolition cause. Weld's disciples found that their first, and sometimes their hardest task as pioneers was to break down the hostility that had been aroused by Garrison's course. Their effort, on the other hand, was carried on everywhere through the churches and with the ministers as allies.

This is a noteworthy book. So extensive is the new material used that the notes (placed after the text) occupy almost one hundred pages. The promised publication of the Weld papers, the major portion of which have but recently been brought to light, and which form so important a basis for the work under review, will be awaited with interest.

The University of Western Ontario. FRED LANDON.

Correspondence of Andrew Jackson. Edited by JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., Late Professor in Smith College. Volume VI., 1839–1845. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1933. Pp. xxi, 524. $3.00, unbound; $4.00, bound.)

THIS sixth volume of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* is—except for an index volume—the last of the series, and contains the documents which reflect the closing years of General Jackson's life. Over and above these points of special interest, it brings to the reader yet another. For it contains an appendix in which are presented several letters and papers, ranging over the whole extent of the series, which have become available since Professor Bassett finished his editorial work. Dr. Jameson, besides contributing an all too brief preface, has made up this appendix, in which the first paper is Jackson's license to practice as attorney, indorsed as of the 15th day of December, 1790. Of the documents in the appendix, some come from the files of the Department of State and some from private collectors, including a rather important group, representing the letters of Jackson to Edward Livingston, from the collection of Brigadier General John Ross Delafield of New York. The bulk of the new material in the appendix, however, as well as some of the letters after 1838 found in their chronological order in this volume, are taken from the large acquisition of Jackson's papers made by the Library of Congress in 1931.

It will be recalled that when Professor Bassett wrote his *Life of Andrew Jackson* (1911) he described the many earlier plans for biographies of the General, and in that connection and at some length considered the various collections of papers of Jackson. Later, when making up the preface to Volume I. of the *Correspondence* (1926), Professor Bassett (pp. xix-xxv)

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went over this ground again, commenting upon John Reid and John H. Eaton, the earliest biographers, and the later plans which centered around James Gadsden, Major Henry Lee, Roger B. Taney, George Bancroft, and Amos Kendall. Of these, it is well known, only Reid, Eaton, and Kendall accomplished anything; and Kendall, while he did publish seven out of fifteen parts of a biography, left his work incomplete. To Kendall had been intrusted an important part of the General's papers. The great bulk of them was sent, however, to Francis P. Blair, as part of a plan for the erection in Washington of some sort of a memorial building in which the papers should be placed. Neither the proposed memorial nor the writing of Jackson's life by the historian George Bancroft ever materialized; but the Blair family preserved what had been intrusted to their progenitor until, in 1903, the collection popularly known as the "Jackson MSS." and officially described as the "Montgomery Blair Collection" was presented to the Library of Congress. Besides this great body of Jackson papers, Dr. Bassett made note of many smaller groups, such as those in the New York Public Library, those in the Tennessee Historical Society, and those in the private collection of Andrew Jackson of Los Angeles, California. But the great mystery, unsolved when Professor Bassett was alive, attached to the disappearance of the papers turned over to Amos Kendall. A considerable number, Professor Bassett wrote, "came in some unexplained way into the hands of W. G. Terrell, a Washington newspaper man". These Professor Bassett was able to trace, at least in part. Of the papers left in Kendall's hands, he added, "they remained at Kendall Green and after the death of Kendall in 1869, went to his daughter, Mrs. Stickney, who stored them, with her books and furniture, in Knox's warehouse, in Washington, which was later burned, most of Mrs. Stickney's effects being destroyed in the fire".

Every reader of this volume is naturally eager to know whether this large supplement to the Jackson papers is part of the Kendall collection presumed to have been destroyed, or part of the papers turned over to Terrell. As to this there is no word in Dr. Jameson's preface to Volume VI., but in the report of the Division of Manuscripts to be found in the Report of the Librarian of Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932 (p. 36), it is clearly indicated that the new acquisition is derived from the group supposed to have been burned in the warehouse.

Of the documents in the appendix, seventy-five, amounting to about three-quarters of the whole, appear to have come from these newly acquired papers, and the remainder from scattered sources. They are divided about equally between papers written by Jackson and letters written to him. They fall into chronological groups: about a dozen before 1805; none between 1807 and 1812; thirty in 1814 and 1815; not more than three for any year after 1828. The principal correspondents are W. C. C. Claiborne, Edward Livingston,

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Sam Houston, Joel R. Poinsett, Robert Hays, William B. Lewis, William Carroll. Interesting by reason both of its date and of its content is a letter to President Washington, written at Philadelphia, February 8, 1797, presenting the names of various persons for appointment to a Federal judgeship in the new state of Tennessee. It may be proper to note here for the information of future students that the letter written by Jackson from Philadelphia, December 6, 1797, which had to do with information received by Jackson from John Love in regard to the North Carolina land frauds, and which could not be found by Professor Bassett when he was editing the first volume of the *Correspondence* (p. 39), is to be seen in the state archives at Raleigh.

From this consideration of the appendix with its new material prior to 1839 we may now turn to the major part of the volume, where, in 416 pages, are found the letters and papers of the years 1839–1845. This period includes, of course, the last two years of Van Buren's administration, with the campaign of 1840; the presidency of William Henry Harrison; the accession of John Tyler and the subsequent break-up of the Whig party; the resignation of Mr. Secretary Webster some time after the conclusion of his negotiations with Lord Ashburton; the reorganization of Mr. Tyler's Cabinet and, after the death of Mr. Secretary Upshur, the appointment to the first place in the Cabinet of Jackson's old arch-enemy, John C. Calhoun. By this time there were already on the horizon the annexation of Texas and the Oregon question, which with the setting aside of Van Buren and the nomination of Polk, contributed so greatly to the heat of the campaign of 1844. Though suffering great pain and, as he wrote to Francis P. Blair, "with a shortness of breath that almost suffocates me in being carried ten feet", the General lived to see Polk firmly established in the presidency; and to that disciple he wrote his last letter, June 6, 1845, two days before his death. Considering the letters of this period, Dr. Jameson very correctly remarks upon the astonishing continuance of Jackson's interest in politics. One notes also the reminiscent element evoked, for instance, by the congressional reimbursement of the fine which had been imposed upon the General at New Orleans by Judge Hall. The old hostilities remained, except, possibly, for a certain softening in the case of Calhoun; as to John Quincy Adams, the General's bad opinion was equaled only by the comments upon Jackson which are found in the famous *Memoirs*. More edifying by far is the strain of affection which runs through his letters to his relatives and his tried and trusted friends.

It remains only to say a few words concerning the selection of materials for this sixth volume and to comment upon the series as a whole. One gathers the impression that the inclusion in this volume of the new matter may have compelled the elimination of some of the papers belonging to the period 1839–1845; otherwise, the principle of selection by the editor is not always entirely clear. Thus, of letters written by Jackson in the year 1842,

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for example, there are omitted those of June 4, June 16, July 8, July 25, and September 23 to Blair; and of July 4 to Dr. Linn. Of letters to Jackson several written by William M. Gwin, beginning with May 31, 1841, and including letters of December 25 of that year and February 16 and March 14, 1842, in which Gwin undertook to criticize Van Buren and to explain to Jackson the ideas of Calhoun's friends, are omitted. In 1841 and 1842, also, there are omitted one or more letters of Amos Kendall, W. B. Lewis, R. B. Taney, B. F. Butler, and T. H. Benton. The "List of Letters and Papers of Jackson for the Period 1839–1845 Printed Elsewhere than in this Volume" reveals minor inaccuracies. In view of the fact that occasionally, where the correspondence is clarified thereby, the editor has printed letters neither written by Jackson nor addressed to him (*e.g.*, pp. 246–247) it seems to the reviewer that, in connection with Jackson's letters of May 13 and 14 to the editors of the Nashville *Union* and to Thomas Hart Benton, respectively, attention might well be called to James K. Polk's letters of those two days, addressed to Cave Johnson (*Tennessee Historical Magazine,* I. 239–244). These letters indicate first, that Jackson himself suggested Polk as a possible nominee for the presidency instead of the vice-presidency and secondly, that, according to Cave Johnson, Silas Wright had previously approved the name of Polk in case Van Buren should be set aside by the Baltimore Convention.

To the editorial work of Dr. Bassett there is, in general, only praise to be given. As to this last volume a single slip noted by the reviewer goes to prove the rule of accuracy. On page 75, in a letter of F. P. Blair to Jackson, dated Washington, September 10, 1840, the sentence "Slated all the rest" is meaningless: but a glance at the original shows the proper reading to be "Slade & all the rest", in which the reference is, of course, to William Slade of Vermont.

As to this notable series it is indeed true, as all sophisticated persons know, that these six large volumes represent only a very extended selection from the Jackson manuscripts. There are many of Jackson's writings and a far larger number of letters addressed to him which will not be found therein: the serious investigator, therefore, will always have to go ultimately to the manuscripts themselves. One wishes that there could be some way of indicating, in such a work, what has *not* been printed, but apparently this is too much to ask. One must choose between a calendar which shall be inclusive or a full printing which shall be selective. But, on the other hand, when one compares with the *Writings of George Washington* and with the *Works of James Buchanan* this series denominated the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* one perceives that the difference in titles is significant and that it is more important to stress, not the letters to Jackson which are omitted, but the vast number which are printed. For there is thus afforded to the average student and to the general reader a far more satisfactory means of estimating Andrew Jackson's leadership than would be possible were only the letters and

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papers published which he wrote himself. In the case of the present work, then, there is every reason for gratitude to Professor Bassett for his patient labor, to the Carnegie Institution of Washington for the publication of the series, and, above all, to Dr. Jameson in whose mind the printing of Jackson's papers had become a fixed objective more than a quarter of a century ago.

The University of Pennsylvania. ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy. By ELLA LONN, Ph.D., Professor of History, Goucher College. (New York: Walter Neale. 1933. Pp. viii, 324. $3.00.)

IN her investigation of this neglected but vital problem of the Confederate people, Professor Lonn made an extensive and careful search through the printed and manuscript records of both the Confederate and the state governments as well as through newspapers and geological reports. Her story covers every phase of the subject.

Salt was necessary not only to the health of people and live stock but also, and in large quantities, for curing and packing meats; and as cured meats were a staple with both the armies and the civil population, a salt famine was nothing short of a public calamity. Before secession imported salt had been so cheap that the few known local deposits had not been developed much beyond the poineer stage. Those best known were in the Great Kanawha Valley of West Virginia, in southeastern Kentucky, at Saltville in southwestern Virginia, in southwestern Alabama, northwestern Louisiana, and northeastern Texas. In all these places the brine was reached by wells and evaporated over crude furnaces. Sea water and the coastal salt marshes provided another source. In May, 1862, a great salt mine was discovered near New Iberia, Louisiana. The salt shortage first became a serious problem with the approach of the meat curing season late in 1861. Thereupon state governors, responding to frantic appeals for assistance, sent agents scurrying into the markets, confiscated stocks held by "speculators", promoted state and private works at the known salines and called upon geologists to find other deposits. Several states set up their own works while others contracted with private operators in order to furnish salt free to families of indigent soldiers and at cost to other citizens. The Confederate authorities made no attempt to control or regulate production, but relied upon contracts for army needs. Difficulties arose on every side. The Kentucky and Kanawha salines were soon in the hands of the Federals; the New Iberia mine was captured in less than a year after its discovery; the works on the coast were subjected to frequent attacks and partial destruction by the Union Navy. Even where relatively safe from attack, the salt makers were hampered by the interference of Confederate military officials with their trains, boats, and wagons, by the conscription of their white laborers, by the collapse of the currency, the lack

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of sacks, the difficulty of procuring food for laborers and animals, the frequent breakdown of transportation and the exhaustion of fuel for the furnaces. Of special interest is the story of Saltville where the ordinary troubles were further complicated by the rivalry of Confederate, state, and private interests for the use of the feeble little railroad. With all their feverish efforts they were never able to furnish half enough salt.

Since Dr. Lonn has made another monograph on this subject unnecessary, one must regret that she has not used more care in chapter organization and in paragraph and sentence structure. The relegation of the footnotes to the back of the book is a nuisance to the serious student, the more so as they often contain matter which belongs either in the text itself or in close relation to it. The photographic frontispiece is of the late post-war period. The map at the end of the book would be much more helpful if the names of the salt-making centers and the lines of transportation serving them had been added. The bibliography is excellent; but the index could be improved upon. Probably most of the mechanical faults of the volume are attributable to the death of the publisher and the discontinuance of his firm while the book was in press.

The University of Texas. CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning. Edited with Introduction and Notes by JAMES G. RANDALL, University of Illinois. Volume II., 1865–1881. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, volume XXII.] (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library. 1933. Pp. xxv, 698.)

THE number of monographs and biographies covering Reconstruction days which the past few years have produced indicates a renewed or increased interest in that stirring period, and should promise a welcome to this two volume diary from the pen of one who was close to events.

Orville H. Browning was a gentleman—from Illinois it is true, but with the orthodox instincts of his day and kind. Whiggish, conservative, he followed Lincoln as such a one must who wanted law and order in the community, but with many doubts and fears of his democratic radicalism. When Lincoln was killed, he transferred his loyalties to his successor, and amid the turmoil in which he read revolution, he clung to traditional constitutionalism and the established order. When Grangers passed unseemly laws, he did his duty for the railroads in opposing them before the courts, and prospered in things material as a result. He could not accept Grant or Grantism, but he was just a little too much of a gentleman to become a Democrat even when they elected him to office, and he remained one of that band of homeless Lincoln-Johnson veterans on the fringes of the opposition party.

The first volume of the *Diary* of Orville H. Browning, reviewed in Vol-

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ume XXXIII., page 449 of this magazine, contained the records for the period up to the end of 1864, which included his early life and his brief senatorship in the first two years of the war. Following his retirement, he remained in the capital city and was thus engaged in law and lobbying when the records of this volume begin.

In September, 1866, Browning became Secretary of the Interior under Johnson and retained that position till the end of the administration, and in addition for a brief time administered the work of the Attorney General's office. Upon Johnson's retirement, Browning returned to western Illinois, to Quincy, and from that point maintained his law practice specializing in railroad legislation, but interested in other forms of law and in politics till his death in 1881. His only office after he left the Cabinet was a membership in the Illinois constitutional convention.

The story Browning tells is not quite new. It confirms Welles in its main parts, and adds little elsewhere. Several writers have used the diary in their studies of the Reconstruction, and so its publication will not alter much current scholarship, but that does not mean that it was not worth publishing. As interesting as what are told are the things not revealed in the diary. There is almost nothing about his department except his quarrels with the army over Indian affairs. Certainly the chief administration man from Illinois, and unquestionably loyal to his superior, Browning does not explain the use of the patronage in those crucial years of the Johnson fight. There is nothing about efforts to control the Conservative nomination in 1868. Retired to Illinois, Browning refuses to discuss with his diary his business affairs, or his railroad litigation. That he prospered is proved by the importation of a 'gardner' into Quincy, but the subject of money and fees is not there. He left out the whole story, if he knew it, of the steps by which that small loyal old group of Johnson-Lincoln Republicans found their way to Democracy. It is interesting to hear him agree with Watterson, before 1876, on the necessity of bimetallism to save the country, and as an issue for the Democratic party, but the rest of the later story of politics in his home state is not here.

The volume has the attractive form, the good print, the usual accuracy which we have come to expect in the growing shelf of publications of the Illinois Historical Society. Professor Randall has edited the work carefully and has shown as clearly as type can the state of the original manuscript; if he has been a little generous in the amount of material printed, we have at least the added assurance that he has left out nothing of value and the notes and references which he has prepared will add to the usefulness of the diary. The second volume contains a 145 page index to the two volumes.

Wayne University. RAYMOND C. MILLER.

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SHORTER NOTICES

An Introduction to Western Civilization. Edited by George A. Hedger, University of Cincinnati. (New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1933, pp. xi, 854, $3.50.) This book, the work of fourteen collaborators, provides an introduction to the social sciences. Its contents are of unusual interest. There are introductory chapters upon man and upon human culture, followed by long sections upon the development of Western culture, the descent of political institutions, and the descent of economic institutions. The last two hundred pages trace briefly the history of religious institutions, domestic institutions, and ethical standards. No separate section is devoted to man's intellectual and artistic achievements although these bulk as large in the culture pattern as his political, economic, and religious activities. The editor attempts to provide for this hiatus in the historical survey but the result is frequently painful. As much space, for example, is devoted to The International Labor Office as to medieval art and literature. Nor does the religious experience deserve the subordinate place in man's cultural development which it occupies here.

The chapters dealing with the nature of human culture and the various factors influencing its growth make it clear that the various social sciences are not unrelated studies, separated by rigid barriers, but merely different aspects of the same thing, human culture. In fact, in dealing with prehistoric peoples and those of the ancient world the separate cultures are dealt with *in toto*. Only when the Middle Ages are reached are the economic and political functions developed separately. The editor, however, could not resist the temptation, natural enough, to hurry on to the modern scene. In consequence there has been a distortion of values. The heritage of the ancient world, particularly, is meagerly recorded.

In general the writing is good and the standard of objectivity high. The writer upon ethical standards indulges in a mild form of preaching, and the author of the chapters upon religious institutions is inclined to be dogmatic in his thinking. The scientific aloofness attained by the writers upon political and economic subjects is commendable. The chapter upon the geographic factor, a difficult subject, is unsatisfactory, and that upon the social factor in culture, though employing the terminology of sociology, adds little that has not already been said. The debt to Kroeber has not been sufficiently acknowledged by the writers of the earlier chapters. The chapter dealing with the nature of institutions obviously belongs to Part IV. Hackneyed phrases are numerous in the sections dealing with religion, and the sociologist does not spare us the lesson of the uninhabited island. A number of statements might be challenged, most of them due, however, to oversimplification. The historians of this volume have not learned the danger of attributing special aptitudes to the several races and peoples. Thus we learn (p. 169) that the crude-

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ness and vulgarity of Aristophanes is possibly a direct heritage from Neolithic Greece. The reviewer noticed four typographical errors, one of them a date.

Princeton University. J. E. POMFRET.

La Pologne de 963 à 1914: Essai de synthèse historique. Par O. Halecki, professeur à l'Université de Varsovie, membre de l'Académie polonaise des sciences et des lettres. Préface de M. Alfred Coville, membre de l'Institut. [Bibliothèque d'histoire contemporaine.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1933, pp. xv, 348, 15 fr.) This book is written primarily for foreigners with the idea of helping them to understand present day Poland through a carefully synthesized study of her past. It presents and interprets the fundamental principles and characteristic traits upon which Poland's life has been built as well as her peculiar contributions to European history and civilization.

One factor especially stressed is the *continuity* of Poland's historical evolution from her earliest times to the present—a continuity which even the partitions did not interrupt, and of which the reborn Poland of to-day is but the latest phase. The writer points out, quite justly, that most of the histories of Poland in Western languages are not written from this point of view. On the contrary they exaggerate the importance of a few dramatic events, and wrench Poland's history out of all true perspective in order to make it culminate in and explain the partitions, whereas from the Polish point of view the partitions were but an episode, albeit a tragic one, in Poland's continuous development. A second factor is the *universal* character of the problems which Poland's history has raised and her statesmen have had to meet. The right solution of these problems is vital not only for Poland but for all Europe, in some cases for all humanity. Hence the importance of that "mission providentielle" which Poland carried on through all the centuries of European evolution, and the necessity of Polish civilization carried forward by the Polish state, as an international force of the future.

M. Halecki divides Poland's history before 1914 into four periods. The first, the period of the formation of state and nation under the Piasts, Poland's only native dynasty. The second, the great centuries of the Jagellon dynasty, Poland's "Golden Age", the period of expansion to imperial proportions and annexation of many alien peoples. The third, the period of the "Royal Republic", a great constitutional experience which failed and ended in the partitions; and, fourth and last, the period of foreign rule and its legacy to the reborn state of to-day.

In each period the salient points of the country's development in both internal and external affairs are stated and their European implications particularly stressed. The early periods are especially well done. M. Halecki's treatment of the period of decadence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the relation of this period to the partitions, and his conclusion that

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Poland's responsibility for the partitions was really a *moral* rather than a political responsibility, will particularly interest readers unfamiliar with the Polish mentality. M. Halecki is a historical scholar and a brilliant writer and ably defends his point of view.

Wellesley College. JULIA SWIFT ORVIS.

La science dans l'antiquité. Tome II., *La jeunesse de la science grecque.* Par Abel Rey, professeur d'histoire et philosophie des sciences à la Sorbonne. [L'évolution de l'humanité, synthèse collective, dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1933, pp. xvii, 537, 40 fr.) M. Abel Rey here gives us a book which should be warmly welcomed by all who are interested in the history of thought. It treats the period from the beginning of Greek science at Miletus down to the middle of the fifth century, B. C., in a way that is fresh and highly stimulating and at the same time essentially sound.

The histories of early Greek thought are almost past numbering—most of them quite negligible, because they offer nothing new. This is a notable exception. The value of M. Rey's work lies, however, not in any appreciable contribution to the philological evaluation of the sources nor to the enlargement of their scope; quite the contrary, the field is in effect rather severely restricted, and for most details M. Rey leans heavily on Burnet and Tannery. Where these predecessors fail him, as in respect to medicine, biology, geology, and the beginnings of geography and historiography, he leaves much to be desired. His interest centers in mathematics and the Pythagoreans, and here also much that he says is at least debatable. The development of mathematics to the middle of the fifth century is largely conjectural, based on relatively few certain data, and everything regarding Pythagoras and the early Pythagoreans may be set down as guesswork. Particularly questionable is M. Rey's disposition to regard all the scientific achievements of the first half of the fifth century as more or less directly due to the Pythagoreans or their influence.

What then remains? Why is this discussion significant and important? The competent student of Greek thought can readily check by reference to the sources and to other discussions the hypotheses and conjectures (which are generally quite frankly characterized as such), and he will find them stimulating, even if he must reject them; but it would be difficult to suggest where he might meet so penetrating an insight into the significance of the points of view and the methods of the early Greek thinkers for the development of the attitude and approach to problems which characterize the science of the Western world. In most accounts of Greek philosophy and science one seeks in vain for a clear exposition of the principles which, like the lines of force in a magnetic field, were giving form and direction to the intellect groping

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among miscellaneous problems. Here, at least in certain matters, one sees them fully exposed and discovers their possibilities.

Wesleyan University. W. A. HEIDEL.

Excavations at Olynthus. Part VII., *The Terra-Cottas of Olynthus found in 1931.* By David M. Robinson, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D., Litt.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, no. 20.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1933, pp. xii, 111, 61 plates, $10.00.) The four hundred terra-cottas described in this volume are interesting chiefly because of the light they shed upon the tastes of their owners. A large number were found in the houses of well-to-do citizens. They were not merely funeral offerings destined to be buried and soon forgotten. In one house twenty-nine specimens were found. Unless the photographs are deceptive, one may readily agree with Professor Robinson that the great majority were locally produced, for only here and there can one be found which merits a second glance. All types of terra-cottas are represented, including a relatively large number of plastic vases; and among them are many duplicates, *i.e.*, two or more pieces from the same mold. A few molds were found even in private houses, and Professor Robinson suggests that amateur coroplasts molded their terra-cottas at home and took them to a potter for firing.

The University of Cincinnati. ALLEN B. WEST.

The Augustan Principate in Theory and Practice during the Julio-Claudian Period. By Mason Hammond, B.Litt. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1933, pp. x, 341, $3.50.) Mr. Hammond's Oxford thesis is a useful piece of work. A summary of the present status of the ever fascinating problem of the Augustan constitutional settlement is very welcome, and Mr. Hammond has performed his task creditably. At some point or other in the book every relevant piece of evidence is cited and the more important theories mentioned. Future students of the question will find the work a convenient point of departure. Not that Mr. Hammond has given us a definitive treatment. (Will a definitive solution of all the aspects of the problem ever be possible?) His procedure is faulty. In the first place, an adequate analysis of the problem should start from a consideration of the source materials, their several tendencies and relative trustworthiness. Mr. Hammond, instead of analyzing the sources, has analyzed modern theories. Again, if the Augustan settlement is to be understood, it must be studied in the light of its historical background. Why had the republic so little life in it? Why was the senate so supine and the magistrates so lethargic? What was the political attitude of the Roman masses, of the Italian towns, of the provincials, of the army? One gets some glimpses here and there in Mr. Hammond's pages of the fact that the times were ripe for absolutism, but he would have written a more

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interesting and more intelligible book had he in an early chapter collected the reasons for this. Instead, we have another technical discussion of the conventional type, and the non-professional reader will find, we fear, much of it hard reading, particularly the chapters toward the end. With many of Mr. Hammond's conclusions the present reviewer finds it hard to agree. Naturally, he finds it hard to agree with the strictures upon his own pet theories! But on the whole Mr. Hammond reflects the present day reaction against the legalistic treatment of Mommsen, and in one crisp sentence he sets forth what has always seemed to the reviewer the key to the whole constitutional development of the Principate. Citing Augustus's assertion, "I excelled all in *auctoritas,* but I had no more *potestas* than those who were my colleagues in the various magistracies", Mr. Hammond remarks, "Yet in the end, this *auctoritas* reduced all *potestates* to mere shadows."

Washington University. DONALD MCFAYDEN.

L'Inde antique et la civilisation indienne. Par P. Masson-Oursel, directeur d'études à l'École des Hautes Études, H. de Willman-Grabowska, professeur à l'Université de Cracovie, et Philippe Stern, conservateur adjoint au Musée Guimet. [L'évolution de l'humanité.] (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1933, pp. xxii, 497, 16 plates, 40 fr.) The purpose of this book is to give in a single small volume a history of India's civilization. The same purpose has inspired other books, of which the most recent was Professor A. A. Macdonell's *India's Past* (1927), but the book here noticed has a definite superiority in its method, for it is far better coördinated and gives a more unified picture. The themes under which India's civilization is examined are: the land and the people; political history; social, political, and economic organization; the spiritual life—religions and philosophies; the æsthetic life—literature and art. The three authors are competent. There is a good bibliography with a disproportionate emphasis upon works in French. The subjects of the plates are good, but in some cases the reproductions are poor.

In discussing their various topics and presenting facts, the authors display interpretive acuteness. We thus get points of view, not in themselves very novel, but so clearly formulated as to be at least suggestive to specialized Indologists and certainly instructive to lay readers. The norm of Indian life is held to be the Hindu-Brahmanical culture in its evolution; by centering their treatment around this point the authors make as good order out of the Indian chaos as is possible.

It would be only pedantry to make a catalogue of minor errors, which in the case of this book do not seriously affect its main purpose. There are a few other points of greater importance. For myself I should have liked to see a fuller report on the Indus Valley civilization. And I do not understand the validity, or perhaps I should say only the significance, of the state-

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ment (p. 67) that the connection of India and Iran, from time to time renewed by successive invaders, constitutes the most constant element of Indian history. If it is meant that this contact has had a fundamental part in molding the character of Indian civilization, I should like to see more demonstration than appears. The lesson of modern research would seem to me to be that this contact did indeed bring to India much that was new, but that the new produced relatively little permanent effect. India might borrow minor elements or even adopt major features for temporary local dominance, such as Hellenistic art in northwest India for a number of centuries; but the main stream of cultural evolution in India as a whole has flowed fairly pure. Invaders have usually given up their original possessions to accept institutions or habits already in the country. It seems to me better to say that the most constant element in Indian history has been the successful resistance India has made to cultural intrusions from the West.

This book is certainly the best brief guide I know to the history of Indian civilization, with literary quality as well as scholarship, and is very welcome, for it is needed.

The University of Pennsylvania. W. NORMAN BROWN.

Histoire du Berry et du Bourbonnais. Par M. Marion, membre de l'Institut. *Histoire de Champagne.* Par René Crozet. [Les vieilles provinces de France.] (Paris, Boivin and Company, 1933, pp. 314, 276, 20 fr. each.) Few of the volumes of this excellent and well-known series have been as successful as these two in fashioning from the materials of provincial history a vibrant and illuminating résumé of the history of France. Of the two volumes, that devoted to Berry and the adjacent Bourbonnais has by far the better plan: its chapters are few in number and each corresponds to a period possessed of some vital unity rather than to a mere chronological segment. Moreover, the author has solved the peculiar difficulties of the nineteenth century in provincial history by having two chapters, one for the nineteenth century as a whole and one for its economic development. Each author, however, has brought out admirably the essential position of his province: the one, Champagne, always at the great crossroads, politically, economically, and culturally, between north and south, between France and Germany, forever oscillating back and forth until its final integration with the French monarchy; the other, Berry and the Bourbonnais, in the very center of France and things French, except from 1152 to the end of the Middle Ages when it enjoyed the doubtful advantages of a frontier position against the great Plantagenet and his descendants. Both authors have stressed economic and cultural factors; both write clearly though certainly with too much rather than too little detail. There are uninspired chapters, of course, such as those on feudal Champagne and that on the religious wars in Berry. Both volumes, however, contain

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many notable chapters: those devoted to the cultural history of the twelfth century and of the Middle Ages as a whole, to the fairs of Champagne, and to the Reformation period, on the one hand; those which bring the Crusades to life, give reality to such persons as Jean du Berry, Jacques Coeur, and Charles de Bourbon, expound the institutional history of the eighteenth century, and present in detail the provincial repercussions of the French Revolution (with new material), on the other.

Both volumes, as is the custom in this series, have excellent and well-chosen illustrations which add greatly to their value. Neither volume possesses either bibliography or index.

Smith College. SIDNEY R. PACKARD.

A History of Christianity in the Balkans: a Study in the Spread of Byzantine Culture among the Slavs. By Matthew Spinka, Chicago Theological Seminary. [Studies in Church History, vol. I., Matthew Spinka, Robert Hastings Nichols, editors.] (Chicago, The American Society of Church History, 1933, pp. 202, $4.50.) This book treats a problem of considerable interest not only to the historian but to anyone who is studying present day social, political, or cultural conditions in Southeastern Europe. Any investigator will feel that there is a profound cleavage between the population belonging to the Roman Catholic Church and that which stands under the religious control of the Greek Oriental Church. The author himself states this cleavage precisely. How this situation arose he describes ably and carefully from the point of view of political history based on a very extensive literature and source material. He demonstrates in an impressive way how religious considerations in the proper sense played a very insignificant rôle in the whole process and that the final religious allegiance to the rival churches was ultimately determined by political considerations of dynasties and other influential groups. When, however, Mr. Spinka attributes a preponderant influence to the feeling of nationalism, the reviewer becomes somewhat skeptical as to the use of this term. We should not apply our present national ideology to those medieval conditions. The currents and aspirations which Mr. Spinka describes are rather pre-national than national in character, *i.e.*, they were prompted by the aversion of the local dynasties and nobilities to foreign domination and exploitation rather than by a conscious popular effort for national culture or solidarity. Of course, in some religious movements as those of the Paterans and Bogomils we observe revolts of a broader popular background, but the social-economic character of them seems to have been more preponderant than the national aspects.

One important problem remains unsolved, the difference created by the Roman and Byzantine civilizations in the mind of the masses living on the border of this ancient cleavage, for the spirit of Erastianism does not suffice.

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The attitude of the Byzantine clergy and bureaucracy is only one side of this problem. There remains another not less important factor and that is the different moral and intellectual reactions of the people themselves under Byzantine rule. Whether the sources at our command could make this problem clearer the present reviewer is not competent to judge. Possibly only present day sociological and psychological inquiries could throw some light on it. Be it as it may, we are indebted to Mr. Spinka for having presented the political history of this fundamental cleavage in a concise, systematic, and convincing way.

Oberlin College. OSCAR JÁSZI.

Dänische Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Von Dr. Axel Nielsen, Professor an der Universität Kopenhagen. Unter Mitarbeit von Dr. Erik Arup, O. H. Larsen, Dr. Albert Olsen. [Handbuch der Wirtschaftsgeschichte, herausgegeben von Dr. Georg Brodnitz.] (Jena, Gustav Fischer, 1933, pp. 600, 28 M.) This is a coöperative study in one volume of the economic life of Denmark from the beginning of her history to the present. It is one of a well-known series of such works on different countries edited by Professor Brodnitz. Because of language difficulties, students of European history have relatively little acquaintance with the history and historians of the Scandinavian countries. For this reason, especially, one welcomes the present study in German and is pleased to find it so thoroughly satisfying. The reviewer is impressed with the breadth and maturity with which the subject is treated.

Denmark's history is like the annals of the poor—not simple, however, but dominated by the difficulty of wresting a living from a relatively niggardly nature. Denmark has had no mines and no great forests. But she has had two sources of riches—her soil and the sea. After the migrations and Viking expeditions, the Danes settled in villages to till the former, much after the general European pattern. But Lübeck, that energetic Baltic neighbor, encouraged the Danes to become fishermen by furnishing them capital and buying their fish. The Germans also helped in the development of Danish handicrafts. Denmark was thus drawn into European economic life of which she has ever since been a part. For hundreds of years, however, she was dominated by the Hanse towns.

The beginning of the age of mercantilism found Denmark a Baltic power, but at the usual cost of wars and trouble. The age of mercantilism was in many respects unfortunate for Denmark. Her industries were consciously developed but were not able to compete with those of other European countries. Her merchants learned a better technique from the Dutch, and joint-stock trading companies were organized. But as a trading power Denmark failed, a failure, intensified, though for a time delayed, by the Napoleonic Wars.

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Before this had come to pass, the Enlightenment had begun to change things. From the middle of the eighteenth century agrarian and agricultural reform had brought about considerable improvement internally. In the nineteenth century the Danes left the sea to till the land. The Industrial Revolution gave Denmark good markets, especially in England, where she had the advantage of location. But as an agricultural state Denmark faced the problem of an unfavorable balance of payments.

Harvard University. HENRIETTA M. LARSON.

Gerardi Magni epistolae. Uitgegeven door W. Mulder, S. J. (Antwerp, Neerlandia, 1933, pp. xlvii, 361.) To those who are familiar with the career of Gerard Groote in particular and with the Moderna Devotio, or Devotio Moderna, in general it must have seemed a peculiar phenomenon that until but a very few years ago the number of Protestant scholars in the Netherlands who showed much interest in these subjects far outweighed that of the Roman Catholic writers who displayed proper appreciation of the same subjects. It seemed as if Groote was in some ways a forerunner of the Protestant Reformation, wherefore the professors of Church history in the universities of Leyden and Amsterdam, beginning with J. Clarisse, took upon themselves the task of editing some of Groote's works and of writing various monographs on the Devotio Moderna. During the last ten years, however, Roman Catholic scholars have suddenly realized that Groote and his followers were loyal Catholics and deserve much credit for their work. One of the results has been the volume now under discussion.

Professor W. Mulder is rector of the Roman Catholic University at Nymegen. He and three of his colleagues have spent much time in studying the authorship of the works composed by the founders of the Devotio Moderna. They have rightly concluded that their first task should be to edit the first published collection of Groote's letters. It supersedes all the earlier editions of the letters in various periodicals. Two of these letters have never been published before (nos. 1 and 69). All of them have been edited with great care and provided with copious annotations. The introduction is excellent, and very useful are the indexes.

The University of Michigan. A. HYMA.

La politica italiana di Lorenzo de' Medici. Per Roberto Palmarocchi. (Florence, Olschki, 1933, pp. ix, 314, 40 l.) In this study, the author has thrown new light on the war between Florence and Innocent VIII. in the years 1485–1486. While the war itself amounted to little, the accompanying diplomatic struggle was of utmost consequence. Florence was at that time represented at the various Italian courts by a group of outstanding statesmen: Piero Alamanni, Giovanni Lanfredini, Jacopo Guicciardini, Pier

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Capponi, and Giovanni Tornabuoni. It was due to their efforts no less than to his own policy of sane moderation that Lorenzo was able to preserve the balance of power in Italy and to prevent any outbreak of hostilities in the six years that elapsed prior to his death in 1492. Both Venice and Lodovico Sforza would have preferred anarchy to Florentine domination; there was constant danger of French intervention in Naples; Roberto Sanseverino, after Lorenzo the most important figure in the drama, could not be counted on for continued loyalty and the shifting alliances of princelings and potentates added to the confusion and the significance of the whole situation. The author has relied almost entirely on the files of ambassadorial correspondence for his material and his study goes far to prove his claim that Lorenzo was the first modern statesman of Italy as well as the inaugurator of the conception of Italian nationalism. The appendixes contain much valuable material on Sanseverino's conspiracy against Lodovico Sforza, on the last days of Sanseverino, and on the relation between Lorenzo's policy and the earlier league of 1454–1455.

Boston. GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS.

Italy and the Reformation to 1550. By G. K. Brown, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1933, pp. vii, 324, 18*s*.) In Italy more than in any other country the story of the Reformation is a series of biographies. There was no mass movement. Dr. Brown has arranged the sketches of individuals according to a geographical scheme. The body of the work is preceded by a survey of the general situation in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and followed by an account of the Italian theologians. The author is a master of the linguistic tools. He has read extensively, and has gathered up scattered material in useful fashion. Precisely because he is so well equipped one cannot but regret that he did not take time to produce something really significant. He has not delved into archives, and has missed many of the important secondary works. There appears to be no use of Piero Chiminelli, *Bibliografia della storia della Riforma religiosa in Italia* (Rome, 1921), which, bad as it is, cannot be overlooked. The author himself says that one must not neglect anything by Karl Benrath, but has missed the *Geschichte der Reformation in Venedig* (Halle, 1887). In the case of Benrath's *Ochino,* the English translation alone has been employed though the documents are reproduced only in the German (Braunschweig, 1892).

In Dr. Brown's bibliography dates are frequently, and forenames and initials almost consistently, omitted. Here are the entries under Ochino: "*7 Dialoghi, 1541; 30 Dialoghi, 1563*". The first entry does not inform the reader that the work is available in a modern reprint, *Dialoghi sette de Rev. Padre Frate Bernardino Occhino Senese* (Rome, 1884). The second entry would lead one to suppose that the work is available in Italian, whereas there

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is extant only the Latin translation of Castellio, *Bernardini Ochini Senensis Dialogi XXX. . . . Basileae M. D. LXIII.*

As to the inclusion of material, there is room of course for difference of opinion. Among precursors Dr. Brown has discussed the Vaudois, Arnold of Brescia, Petrarch, and Valla. Even more important in my judgment are the Spiritual Franciscans, the Renaissance Neoplatonists, and the Franciscan scholastics, who receive but cursory notice. Among the Italian reformers there is no mention of Gribaldi, Grataroli, Vincenzo Maggi, and the Marchese d'Oria, who figure in Frederic C. Church's pages. Jacobo Acontio may have been omitted because of the chronological limit (1550), but if this had been strictly adhered to there should have been no consideration of the later works of Curione and Ochino, and Fausto Sozzini should have been eliminated.

Yale University. ROLAND H. BAINTON.

Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquess of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Edited by M. S. Giuseppi, I.S.O., F.S.A., Assistant Keeper of the Public Records. Part XVI. [Historical Manuscripts Commission.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1933, pp. xxxii, 530, 10*s.* 6*d.*, paper; 12*s.* 6*d.*, bound.) This volume contains the Cecil papers for the year 1604. They consist of administrative memoranda, general correspondence, and a mass of letters addressed to Lord Cecil (created Viscount Cranborne in August) by agents and officials, judges and councilors, the king himself, and a host of petitioners begging for favor, justice, or mercy. They illustrate Cecil's character and statesmanlike abilities and show how completely he had become the pivot of the entire administration. The important letters from James furnish an excellent picture of the ruler and his policies during these formative years of the new dynasty and sharply contrast his admirable aspirations in thought with his unpardonable futility in action.

A number of letters concerning Parliament deal for the most part with the efforts of Cecil and the court group to devise methods of controlling the Commons. Since no parliamentary grant was forthcoming, privy seals were issued for a loan to the king; and Cecil received many complaints (especially from the clergy) that the sums demanded were too great. Several letters show the determination of the government, after the Hampton Court Conference, to impose conformity, on pain of ejection, upon the Puritan clergy, a policy deeply affecting American as well as English history. The projected union with Scotland occupies much space, as also the dismantling of Berwick as a frontier fortress and the general pacification of the border. An interesting if none too trustworthy document by Sir Anthony Standen is an account by an eyewitness of the murder of Rizzio in 1566.

References to the negotiations for peace with Spain are rather disappoint-

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ing; but there is much concerning the natural hostility with which England's withdrawal from the war was regarded by the Dutch, who said hard things about James, and were, indeed, left in a most uncomfortable position. England's neutrality caused many difficulties in Holland for English diplomats, soldiers, and shipping. The campaigns in the Netherlands during this year (the capture of Sluys and the loss of Ostend) are described in great detail in the dispatches of Sir Ralph Winwood and other officials.

The editor has performed his task with skill and supplies an adequate introduction and index.

The University of Minnesota. DAVID HARRIS WILLSON.

John Hampden: a Life. By Hugh Ross Williamson. (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1933, pp. 359, 12*s.* 6*d.*) The name of John Hampden has been traditionally associated with the ship-money of Charles I., but the modern reader of history knows little else about him. This is probably due to Lord Nugent's *Some Memorials of John Hampden: his Party and his Times,* a work written over a hundred years ago in a heavy sleep-producing style, which was the only full-length biography of the great Englishman until the present.

Mr. Williamson has written a sound and competent life of Hampden in a style that is clear and entertaining without being brilliant. Handicapped by an unfortunate lack of material for the first thirty or more years of Hampden's life the author is forced to devote nearly half of his pages to a survey of the reign of James I. and the first four or five years of that of Charles I. in which the names of Sir John Eliot, the Duke of Buckingham, John Pym, and others appear far more frequently than that of John Hampden. But why is it that few Englishmen can write about their Puritan and royalist forbears without taking violent sides? A prejudice in favor of Hampden is to be expected in his biographer, but not necessarily the strong feeling against the Stuarts and their followers which Mr. Williamson exhibits. This feeling seems to prevent him from giving a warm and intimate picture of Hampden, the man, which he so greatly deserves. Possibly only a brilliant pen could produce such a portrait where even the sources for Hampden's later life do not give a great deal about him.

Mr. Williamson has discovered little new material; a few unprinted Hampden letters he has added, but for the facts he has relied on the best available sources and authorities. It is unfortunate that the author did not make use of the Port Eliot MSS. instead of relying on the unsound Forster and Nugent for the correspondence between Hampden and Eliot. In fact, there seems to be no reason why he could not have employed A. B. Grosart's edition of Eliot's *Letter Book* in which the correspondence is most accurately transcribed by the editor. Mr. Williamson's book closes not only with an

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interesting section headed "Sources for Hampden's Life", but also with a brief bibliography which he calls "Some Authorities Consulted". These two sections take the place of footnotes and are probably more for the benefit of the general reader than to the liking of the trained student, but both are given some assistance by a fairly adequate index.

New York University. HAROLD HULME.

Force in Peace: Force Short of War in International Relations. By Albert E. Hindmarsh, Assistant Dean of Harvard College, Instructor and Tutor, Department of Government, Harvard University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1933, pp. xii, 249, $2.50.) The eight chapters of this book superimpose upon a slight historical basis the thesis that "moral influences alone" are inadequate for the enforcement of international obligations upon reluctant or recalcitrant states, and that coercion of such states in time of peace is requisite to prevent international anarchy and war. The use of "moral influences" in recent times is briefly sketched under seven diplomatic and judicial methods, namely, negotiation, good offices and mediation, commissions of inquiry and conciliation, conferences and congresses, the League of Nations, arbitration, and the Permanent Court of International Justice. The history of reprisals, by private individuals and by governments, and of self-help by states, is more fully outlined and leads to a discussion of the inconsistency of these practices with international law and institutions as they have been developed in our time.

The lesson drawn by our author from these historic experiences is that reprisals and state self-help are anarchic and productive of war; and that the moral influences, while good in themselves, require coercion to back them up and make them really effective. The lack of adequate sanctions in the League of Nations is deplored; for he thinks that it is the only existing and only justifiable institution for the application of coercion by common action. Precisely what kinds of "coercion" are necessary and available; what kinds of economic pressure; what kinds and amounts of armaments; how these shall be acquired, where they shall be located, under whose command they shall be placed, against precisely whom they shall be used; and, above all, what results would ensue from their use, other than that of enforcing "the peace"—all these small matters of detail are left to the reader's imagination.

An appeal to the history of the United States is made in support of the author's thesis; but a more realistic study of it would require a consideration of *both* halves of the story. Applied to the international situation to-day, this history might reveal, not the need of more force and more coercion "by common action", but the necessity of abolishing national armaments (even though *called* an "international police force") for international purposes, and the possibility that in their absence the "moral influences" would function with the desired efficiency.

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One-third of the book is devoted to an index, a bibliography (including lists of books, pamphlets, documents, and cases), and appendixes giving the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance (1923), the Geneva Protocol (1924), the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee ("The Locarno Pact", 1926), and the Treaty for Renunciation of War ("The Kellogg-Briand Pact", 1929); and these help to make it a useful contribution toward the solution of the most difficult and the most important public problem of our time.

Swarthmore College. WILLIAM I. HULL.

Anglo-French Relations, 1641 to 1649. By D. A. Bigby, M.A. (London, University of London Press, 1933, pp. 160, 6*s*.) The record of Anglo-French relations during the period 1641–1649, as set forth in this book, tells how four or five simple pieces of policy were elaborated in the course of diplomatic negotiations. The development of these negotiations provides the narrative of the book, a narrative which chiefly deals with the work of French agents in England and Scotland. It was France who took the initiative, argues the writer: "England might and did ask for help, but it depended on France whether any was sent". And more than this, France sought many times to direct the course of English and Scottish affairs. To account for the activity of France the writer here accepts the opinion of Gardiner that it sprang from fear of England's giving useful help to Spain, and goes on to argue and to prove that Mazarin was also anxious to prevent the revolutionaries in England from turning out the Stuarts and thereby setting a bad example to the enemies of monarchy in France. As additional evidence of the close relations which existed between Louis and Charles the writer has published a Treaty of Rueil, 1644, which she herself has recently brought to light.

In arranging her intricate story of diplomacy the writer has spared no pains to make the record of comings and goings complete, and if her book has a deficiency it does not lie in this direction; but rather in proceeding from a point of view which allows the phrase "Anglo-French relations" to cover no more than diplomacy. Has the work of M. Ascoli been in vain? Or does the University of London Press offer us unimproved a dissertation which was presented many years ago?

Cornell University. F. G. MARCHAM.

Projet d'une dixme royale, suivi de deux écrits financiers, par Vauban. Publiés d'après l'édition originale et les manuscrits. Avec une introduction et des notes par É. Coornaert, directeur d'études à l'École pratique des Hautes Études. [Collection des principaux économistes.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1933, pp. lvi, 295, 50 fr.) A Frenchman is truly great if he has succeeded in contributing to national security. Apparently Marshal de Vauban fulfills this requirement. During the reign of Louis XIV. as a military engineer re-

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sponsible for the construction of forts on the eastern frontier he won everlasting fame. But he was not merely interested in the problem of military security. Living at a time when the government, as a partial result of numerous wars, was on the verge of bankruptcy, he submitted in writing several projects whereby the financial security of France could be attained.

Of these works his *Projet d'une dixme royale* was the most important. In it he proposed radical changes in the system of taxation. All existing taxes were to be replaced by a "contribution générale" which was to be obtained from four sources: (1) a tax on all produce "without exception"; (2) a tax on incomes of all kinds, including rents and salaries; (3) the gabelle tax, reduced in amount and controlled by the king; and (4) import and luxury taxes upon such things as tobacco, tea, and coffee.

In certain respects Vauban's proposals seem quite modern. Indeed Professor Coornaert in his introduction to the project (p. xlii) intimates that Vauban as one of the early exponents of financial reforms was connected with the intellectual movement which paved the way for the French Revolution.

Projet d'une dixme royale is a valuable volume in the scholarly *Collection des principaux économistes*. In addition to a critical edition of the project the book also contains an illuminating introduction by Professor Coornaert, a bibliographical essay on the manuscripts and printed editions of the work, and a list of the various books and articles in which Vauban's proposals have been discussed. An index, critical notes, several pertinent illustrations, and an appendix containing Vauban's *Projet de capitation* and *Description géographique de l'élection de Vézelay* add much to the value of the volume. The book is a contribution of special interest to all students of economic history.

The University of California. FRANKLIN C. PALM.

The Industrial Revolution in North Wales. By A. H. Dodd, Professor of History at the University College of North Wales. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press Board; New York, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. xxxi, 439, $3.75.) North Wales presents an interesting problem in regional geography. The rise of the new industrialism in the eighteenth century seemed for a time to create an entirely new position for a region that had long been a kind of rural frontier. But this industrial expansion was short lived, and by 1850 North Wales had definitely failed to justify the hopes of the industrialists, just as in an earlier decade it failed to justify the extravagant hopes of the greater landlords.

Despite many individual attempts at agricultural improvement, little was accomplished before 1790. High prices then stimulated reform and large areas of commons were inclosed. North Wales suffered all the usual evils of inclosure with no compensating gains. Flintshire with its resources of coal,

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iron, and copper became a notable industrial district. In Wilkinson's time, the works at Bersham were the most progressive iron works in England. The brass and copper foundries of the Williams family at Holywell were likewise of great importance. The metal industries of Flintshire, however, were dependent upon thin seams of coal and ease of access to tidewater. The development of the railroad was disadvantageous to these mineral interests in Flintshire, as it gave new values to richer ore bodies more remote from the coast or more remote from coal. The slate quarries of Caernarvon alone succeeded in maintaining growth throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The woolen industries were stimulated by the earlier developments of the new technology. Later, when small water powers began to suffer from the competition of large steam driven mills, the Welsh industry began to decline. These somewhat negative changes contribute much to our understanding of the history of industrial concentration in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century.

A. P. U.

Dupleix and his Letters, 1742–1754. By Virginia McLean Thompson. (New York, Robert O. Ballou, 1933, pp. xvii, 920, $7.50.) As a doctor's thesis of more than nine hundred pages, the author has reproduced in translation some hundreds of Dupleix's letters or extracts from them, together with numerous comments from the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the confidential agent of Dupleix during his career at Pondicherry. These extracts from the sources are linked together by intermittent narrative, the purpose of which, in general, is limited to explaining the references of the quotations which follow or precede.

More than 3800 of Dupleix's letters, in the original or in copy, remain from the years 1750 to 1754. The translations have been made with great care and completeness. If the selection has not been unjust to Dupleix, it is easy to see why the letters have not been published before. They are dull. One searches in vain for some great revealing utterance of the statesman, something that expresses an ideal concept of Dupleix's place in the scheme of things, in world history, or European history, or French history, or Indian history. In a sentence which the author quoted as a chapter heading, Dupleix sums up his career: "J'ai profité des occurrences que les circonstances m'ont presentées" (p. 211). "The honor of the king and the profit of the company", a phrase constantly at the tip of Dupleix's pen, equally symbolizes the insignificance of his motivation. "We have done for ourselves and against the French", wrote that other arid character, Robert Clive, "what the French"—in effect, Dupleix—"tried to do for themselves and against us." Only an Anglophile view of the glories of British India gives Dupleix some value as the emblem of a hazy might-have-been.

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I have said elsewhere and here repeat that the colonial and maritime aspects of France in the eighteenth century are to be interpreted only by taking into account Sombart's distinction that France was a "soil country", unlike England or Holland, concerned with external exchange only in a secondary and intermittent fashion. In short, that France lost India is only an aspect of the fact that India was not vital to France, that France did not want India badly enough to furnish Dupleix the economic, political, or military basis that he required. Dupleix was recalled and France "lost" almost all that he had built up: the ensuing quarter-century was the best of three quarter centuries of economic and cultural expansion.

No more than a hundred other doctor's theses, does this one face the problem of interpretation. Only on her last two pages does Dr. Thompson expose a dutifully repressed desire to contrast the barrenness of Dupleix's program with the cultural force that has been manifest in the later French colonialism. One might wish that she had portrayed somehow the fabric of Dupleix's world—the France that was so indifferent to him, the company that refused to confuse its profits with the glory of the king, the England that turned out more enthusiastic buccaneers than himself, and, above all, the India whose *Geist* is not comprehended within the treacheries of potentates and the greed of companies.

The University of Wyoming. F. L. Nussbaum.

Les idées religieuses de Madame Roland. Par Edith Bernardin, bibliothécaire à la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg. [Publications de la Faculté des lettres de Strasbourg.] (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1933, pp. 184, 15 fr.) This small brochure, fully documented from the sources, especially the letters, traces the development of Madame Roland's religious ideas, more particularly up to her marriage when they became more or less fixed. In its main outline the story is familiar enough. The young Manon, educated as a Catholic, but from an early age reading voraciously and intelligently all the current writings, soon abandoned that faith for the prevailing form of Deism. The atheist writers, such as Holbach and Helvetius, troubled her because she could appreciate the force of their argument: troubled, but also revolted her, since, as she says, they "are seeking for a syllogism while I am offering up my thanksgiving"; and so, not willing to surrender "the most nourishing illusions", she found consolation in the unreasoned faith of Rousseau. But while the author tells in the main the old story, she tells it with the necessary *nuances,* the qualifications that are commonly overlooked. The qualifications to be made arise from the conflict between Madame Roland's intelligence and her emotions. Unable to refute atheism, she refused to accept it. Regarding the Catholic doctrine as false, she found in the Catholic ritual (so well adapted to one disposed to "offer up

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thanksgivings") no small degree of æsthetic satisfaction. Rejecting the Christian doctrine herself, she felt (especially after marrying a respectable inspector of manufactures) that morality would suffer if the average man lost his faith in it, only to abandon this notion when the Revolution seemed to make possible a morality based on civic virtue. Such inconsistencies and conflicts are admirably elucidated. In general, this careful study has, as the author says, a double value: it presents a typical case of eighteenth century 'incredulity', and at the same time enriches our understanding of Madame Roland's personality.

C. B.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von Ludwig Freiherrn von Pastor. Band XVI., Abteilung 3, Pius VI., 1775–1799. (Freiburg i. B. and St. Louis, B. Herder and Company, 1933, pp. xxxix, 678, $5.30.) At last this vast work reaches its end, and at the point designed by its author. Though that author died in 1928, while his thirteenth volume was still in press, there is now no reason to doubt that he left his work nearly complete or that its completion is wholly in his spirit. The final section now published is but the closing scene of what to him is a tragedy: the humiliation of the Church by absolute monarchy, free thought, and the French Revolution. But the author's courage is high; for he counts this but the darkness that ushers in a new day, and with unabated zeal he fills in from Roman archives the details of the story—the rise of state churches, Josephinism and Febronianism, Jansenism and Alfonso de' Liguori, the survival of the Jesuits in Prussia and Russia, the advancing flood of the French and revolution. To the Church of Christ, he writes, "death and the grave are not the signs of ruin, but symbols of the resurrection". "Between the exile of Avignon", with which his great work began, "and that of Valence", with which it ends, "arches the mighty ascent and descent of half a millennium; but the end is not yet, and the shameful humiliation of 1799 could not but hide in itself the germ for a new unfolding of power."

That Pastor dreamed of another's continuing his work does not appear. But it was natural that his publishers should do so; and perhaps not less natural that they should intrust the task to a Jesuit—Father Robert Leiber, professor of Church history in the Gregoriana at Rome. His residence there should make it the easier for him to draw upon that wealth of archival materials to which the work of Pastor owes its unique value. But that these materials will be put as freely at his service for the popes of the nineteenth century is too much to hope; and what may be the continuator's own character and powers as their biographer we have yet to learn.

Cornell University. GEORGE L. BURR.

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Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe: Werke, Schriften, Briefe. Herausgegeben von V. Adoratskij. I. Abt., Band IV., *Engels, Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England und andere Schriften von August 1844 bis Juni 1846.*. I. Abt., Band VI., *Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels, Werke und Schriften von Mai 1846 bis März 1848.* [Marx-Engels-Lenin-Institut, Moskau.] (Berlin, Marx-Engels-Verlag, 1932, pp. xx, 558; xxi, 746, 18 M. each.) These two volumes form part of a complete historical and critical edition of the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The edition is divided into four parts. Part I. comprises all of the writings of Marx and Engels except the former's *Kapital.* This, together with the writings preliminary thereto, is published in Part II. Part III. contains letters and correspondence, and Part IV. a general index.

The most important of the writings of Engels in Part I., Volume IV., is his famous polemic against the capitalist class of England, "The lot of the working class in England", written in 1844–1845. For nearly a century this stirring account of the suffering among the English laboring class has been freely quoted as a classic by historians and sociologists. American historians will find Engels's "Description of communistic settlements in America and England", pp. 351–369, written in 1844, a document of more than contemporary interest. The other papers included in this volume consist mostly of articles contributed originally to *The New Moral World* (an Owens organ), *The Northern Star,* London (leading Chartist organ), and socialist papers in Paris and Brussels. The various documents are here reprinted in the languages—German, English, and French—in which they appeared when first published. They embody much valuable biographical and other material reflecting the socialist ideology of the classical school, including the addresses of Marx on protective tariffs and free trade.

Part I., Volume VI., contains in addition to the essay directed against Proudhon, "Misère de la philosophie", the epochal "Communist Manifesto" of 1847, and numerous others (for the greater part republished here for the first time) in which Marx and Engels concern themselves with the revolution then about to break forth.

Volumes IV. and VI. contain lengthy introductions by the editor, written from the Lenin-Soviet point of view, in which one misses somewhat the strictly objective method which otherwise constitutes a marked feature of this standard and monumental edition. Each volume contains comprehensive notes and indexes which greatly facilitate their use.

This work meets a long-felt need for a complete historical and critical edition of the writings of the two leading classical exponents of what is currently known as "Marxism".

Georgetown University. WILLIAM F. NOTZ.

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Mon ambassade en Russie soviétique, 1917–1919. Par Joseph Noulens, ambassadeur de France. Deux tomes. (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1933, pp. xxvi, 259; 300, 18 fr. each.) M. Noulens arrived in Russia in June, 1917, as ambassador of France during the Provisional government. He left in December, 1918, when the ill-fated Allied expedition at Archangel was about to collapse. He has now published a record of his mission. It forms a useful addition to the source material concerning Allied policy in Russia during these years, although as a chronicle of what was actually taking place in Russia, its value is very slight.

M. Noulens was hardly qualified to belong to the small group of foreigners in Russia, such as Mr. Bruce Lockhart or Colonel Raymond Robbins, who knew how to observe and to appraise the significance of the revolutionary forces released by the collapse of 1917. His experience as minister of war in 1913 and as minister of finance in 1914 indicated him as a logical successor to M. Paléologue, whose connections with the imperial family made his position a little difficult after the February revolution.

As soon as he arrived in Russia, M. Noulens was able to supply the Quai d'Orsay with an antidote to the glowing accounts by Albert Thomas of the strength of the moderate socialists in the coalition government. The sources of his information, however, were not such as to document his impression of other forces in the situation. He was early impressed with the fatal weaknesses of the Provisional government, but he seems to have striven loyally to support any groups which were prepared to carry on the war. His record, although written fifteen years later, does not appear to have been retouched. The statement that Lenin and Trotzky were German agents, for example, is not considered to require proof or elaboration.

The record of 1918 and 1919 is one of catastrophe and costly mistakes. No new light is thrown on any of the disputed problems of these years, such as the real reasons for intervention in the north and in Siberia, the relations of the Allies with White leaders in the civil war, or the important change of policy by the Czech legions during their eastward evacuation. M. Noulens's account of his wanderings, however, from St. Petersburg to Vologda, to Archangel, to Finland, and of his futile efforts to find some Russian force which would reconstitute an eastern front against Germany, reflects the inability of the Allied governments to recognize the change that had taken place in Russia and helps to explain the complete collapse of their policy.

Institute of Pacific Relations. JOSEPH BARNES.

Au service de la France: Neuf années de souvenirs. Par Raymond Poincaré, de l'Académie française. Tome X., *Victoire et armistice, 1918.* (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1933, pp. 467, 36 fr.) After reading the tenth volume of M. Poincaré's memoirs one marvels at the abundance of the notes which

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he made almost daily in his journal. When he went on a week's trip to Alsace-Lorraine and was too busy to make any entries, he seized the first Sunday morning after his return to write up a narrative covering ten printed pages. In this volume, unlike some of his earlier ones, he mostly refrains from inserting his long public speeches. Instead he fortunately indulges more freely in what seem to be verbatim bits of interesting conversations with a great variety of visitors, French and foreign, and of high and low degree.

Most frequent and piquant are his talks with Clemenceau, whose gray gloves, stomach-ache, and diet of potato and string beans at Doullens are all noted in detail. Mostly the two highest officials got on well together, though several passages indicate that the President of the Republic was a little nettled that the Paris boulevards seemed to spend all their acclaim on The Tiger as the Deliverer of France, unmindful of himself and even of Foch. The only serious storm between them was in connection with the armistice: Clemenceau favored it as soon as possible; Poincaré wanted to go on fighting to teach the Germans the thoroughness of their defeat. Enraged by a phrase in one of Poincaré's letters on the subject, Clemenceau sent in his resignation with a savage letter referring to "the easy advantage you give yourself, in a correspondence written for your memoirs, in order to make a good show of energy in comparison with the President of the Council". The Tiger was soon appeased and the resignation withdrawn. It speaks volumes for M. Poincaré's calm good sense and firm self-control that throughout this difficult year he had so little friction with a man as temperamental and self-willed as Clemenceau.

Among the innumerable personages whose remarks and characteristics are recorded in the course of 1918 was President Wilson. At their first luncheon on December 14 Mr. Wilson remarked that "the peace will be more difficult to make than the war". With Mrs. Wilson he talked for a quarter of an hour "about golf, gardens and other banalities". At an embassy dinner a few days later "President Wilson became more and more expansive, chatted, laughed, and tapped me on the back".

Harvard University. SIDNEY B. FAY.

Effects of the War on Economic and Social Life in Finland. By Leo Harmaja, Ph.D., Director of the Bureau of Social Research and Statistics, Helsinki, Finland. [Economic and Social History of the World War, James T. Shotwell, Ph.D., LL.D., General Editor, Translated and Abridged Series.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1933, pp. x, 125, $2.00.) Finland had a variegated history during the World War. As a partly autonomous dependency of the Russian Empire she enjoyed many privileges of neutrality. Neither Russia nor Germany wished to push her actively into the conflict. She had trade relations with Sweden based on racial and cultural ties as well

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as geographical proximity which the Allies wished to keep uninterrupted. Some young Finns inspired by the hope of winning political independence for their country joined the German army. Later the independence movement dominated all else and in December, 1917, the local diet proclaimed Finland a sovereign state. Almost at once the Red revolution spread across the border from Russia and for three months Russian and native Reds and native Whites aided by a German expeditionary force fought for control. The Whites won and the Germans were forced by more urgent needs at home to withdraw. Finland thereupon began its career as an independent nation.

This book does not detail the political history of these events, but it describes their effect upon economic conditions during the war and revolution and the subsequent development of independent Finland's population, agriculture, industry, trade, finance, and commercial policy down to the present. It is probably the best interpretative summary of social and economic facts about modern Finland, as affected by her recent history, that we have.

The Library of Congress. VICTOR S. CLARK.

The Experiment with Democracy in Central Europe: a Comparative Survey of the Operation of Democratic Government in Post-War Germany and in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Succession States. By Arnold John Zurcher, Assistant Professor of Political Science, New York University. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. ix, 328, $2.50.) The author states that "in general he has attempted to make his rôle reportorial and descriptive rather than judicial", assembling "factual data" for the use of students of political institutions, and "for most of his judgments has leaned upon informed opinion in each of the states treated". His study is exactly that, although it should be added that he does not shirk drawing his own conclusions and making stimulating observations. It is perhaps pertinent to point out that the countries under consideration are: Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Germany. Why Yugoslavia was included and Hungary and Roumania excluded from this survey of Succession Central European states is not made clear.

After a brief but informative statement of the revolutions leading to the establishment of the new governments, a general analysis of the constitutions is undertaken. It is brought out how, "the three bodies of doctrine, democracy, nationalism, and socialism, were not merely engrafted upon an older order; they formed the fibre of a new order". The author follows consistently the topical and comparative approach. The material is well organized throughout, and the presentation is clear. A wealth of information is provided, and it is recorded how the various institutions have operated in actual practice. Two major defects are found in the new constitutions:

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(1) That the jurists in 1919 set their institutions into too universal a mold and did not take enough into consideration the political realities and traditions of their own people; (2) "That the constituent assemblies were much too prone to exalt the position of the legislature in the government and to weaken the initiative and prerogative of the executive." The tendency ever since in all the countries has been to strengthen the executive.

Whatever turn events may take in the future Mr. Zurcher's analysis of this period of democratic experiment will retain permanent historical value. The ample footnotes, as well as the carefully selected bibliography—which includes magazine articles—provides ready references for more detailed study. Several excellent maps are provided.

Bowdoin College. E. C. HELMREICH.

Deutscher Geschichtskalender, Januar-Dezember 1932. Begründet von Karl Wippermann, herausgegeben von Friedrich Purlitz und Sigfrid H. Steinberg. A: *Deutschland.* B: *Ausland.* (Leipzig, Felix Meiner, 1932, pp. 363, 437.) The first of these two volumes is devoted exclusively to German affairs, the second to those of the League of Nations, Europe, Asia, and America. Since the year 1932 was the critical year in the history of the Weimar Republic, the year before the triumph of Hitler and the National Socialist movement, the reader takes up this volume with no little curiosity. Its pages are crowded with a series of dramatic events: two presidential elections, the deadlock of the parliamentary system and party politics which three major parliamentary elections were unable to resolve, the still not thoroughly clarified dismissal of the Bruening cabinet, the rise and fall of Von Papen, the forcible expulsion of the Center-Socialist Braun ministry of Prussia, and finally the short-lived government of General von Schleicher. What the reader finds here is of course no history but rather a daily chronicle of important events as they took place in the cabinet and the Reichstag, in party headquarters, in the state governments and their respective legislatures. These records of the *Geschichtskalender* are not without some value to the historian. To be sure, certain events are reported meagerly enough, yet it is the constant practice of the editors to reprint the text of important speeches or statements made by chancellors or ministers and summarize the remarks made by members of parliament, party programs or pronouncements on specific issues. In this respect the *Geschichtskalender* constitutes a source book that is all the more valuable since there is no other publication where such a variety of materials has been brought into the compass of a single volume. Of less interest to the English reader is the volume devoted to the League of Nations, the other countries of Europe, and Asia, since it cannot, indeed does not desire to, compete with the numerous surveys of international politics now

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in progress. Yet this volume also because of its pithy summaries and the reprinting of important documents has a value of its own.

The Ohio State University. WALTER L. DORN.

International Politics: an Introduction to the Western State System. By Frederick L. Schuman, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933, pp. xxi, 922, $4.00.) Once in a while a book is written which opens new vistas in the groping progress of mankind toward a higher goal. Schuman's brilliant panorama of international politics and the problems and dangers which the world state system faces is such a book. Here the reader has spread before him a comprehensive synthesis of international politics so succinctly and logically presented that the inherent threat to civilization if the present trend of international anarchy continues is convincing.

Dr. Schuman develops his thesis by first portraying in its historical development the emergence and evolution of the Western state system from the state systems of the past. The second part is devoted to the forms or rules and tools of international politics. The third, which is perhaps the fundamental contribution of the study, is concerned with the forces that divide states and set them against one another, "national patriotism in its political and economic aspects; imperialism as a frame of mind and a governmental policy; and the patterns and values of Great Power politics which have grown up in consequence of the rivalries between the imperial nation states". The chapter devoted to the Politics of Power is a remarkably convincing analysis of the power element in foreign policies. The last part, which is entitled "Prospects", is devoted to appraising present tendencies and calculating future possibilities.

In a work of such vast scope where every phase of international political relationship is examined and evaluated, some errors of fact and certain questionable statements are bound to occur. The author constantly alludes to Haiti and Santo Domingo as protectorates of the United States, an inaccurate designation in a study of this character. The statement (p. 129) that the Panamanian revolution was organized in Washington and carried out with the coöperation of the American marines, hardly gives a fair picture of the event. Amendments to the League Covenant require unanimous approval of the Council representatives as well as a majority vote of the Assembly (p. 266). The United States does not pay $3,000,000 annually to Nicaragua for the canal rights (p. 370). The statement that prior to 1914 the great majority of the Paris newspapers were in the pay of the Russian government is somewhat exaggerated (p. 494). Contrary to the author's assertion, authorities state that Mussolini authorized the allocation of ten million lire

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for the relief of the families injured by the Corfu bombardment (p. 776). But a far more serious criticism can be leveled at the unfortunate tone of the entire preface. Why arouse needless antagonism by sneering at all previous work done in the same field? The work is too excellent to be marred by such preliminary evidences of bad taste.

Stanford University. GRAHAM H. STUART.

The Works of Samuel de Champlain. Reprinted, translated, and annotated under the General Editorship of H. P. Biggar. Volume V., 1620–1629. Translated by the late W. D. LeSueur, the French Texts collated by J. Home Cameron. [The Champlain Society.] (Toronto, the Society, 1933, pp. xvii, 330, xi.) This volume contains Books I. and II. of the Second Part of the 1632 publication of Champlain's Voyages. Those immediately preceding it represented to no small degree an abridgment of Champlain's earlier works, and had in any case already been translated into English. The new volume covers the years 1620–1629, not dealt with in any of Champlain's previous works, and has never before been translated into English. The French text has been available in the Laverdière edition of Champlain's works (1870), but the new version provides a more accessible and carefully revised text, as well as an English version. The editor reminds us that the preparation of text and translation presented "greater and more numerous difficulties than any of the author's previous volumes". Champlain was no exact writer, much less a stylist, and this volume was apparently issued without being revised by him before publication. A glance at the text makes clear the difficulties of translation which Mr. LeSueur had to surmount. It is to the credit of the editor and translators (Professor Cameron revised the translation) that they have produced a volume of the high quality of its predecessors. Professor Ganong has gone over the portion dealing with the Gulf of St. Lawrence, identifying places mentioned, and adding a useful map. In view of the novelty attaching to the appearance of this portion of Champlain's work in English, it is perhaps a pity that the introduction was not expanded from a textual note to an account and estimate of the contents of the volume.

These years from 1620 to 1629 were years of slow and uncertain growth for New France. Indeed it was scarcely growth at all, for in 1628 Champlain somewhat bitterly records that in twenty years only one and a half acres of land had been put into cultivation. There were squabbles between rival companies and traders, disputes with the Indians, the ever recurring problem of supplies, and, not least, the problem of defense. For this, as for the building up of the colony, or for the exploration of the western hinterland, Champlain was able to do little during these years, lacking adequate support from France. Yet if the record is humble, it is full of interest, particularly so in the almost complete absence of other accounts. At times it has the quality

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of a diary (*e.g.*, p. 121), and throughout, Champlain's plain and unvarnished story, with its occasional comments, reveals the man as well as the situation in New France. The volume ends with the half starved colony on the verge of capture by the English.

The University of Toronto. R. Flenley.

Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France, by the Sieur de Dièreville. Translated by Mrs. Clarence Webster. Edited with Notes and Introduction by John Clarence Webster. [The Champlain Society.] (Toronto, the Society, 1933, pp. xv, 324.) Dièreville, a surgeon and mediocre poet who visited Acadia in 1699–1700, has long deserved a new edition of his *Relation,* for it is the only reasonably dispassionate account of the Acadians before the English conquest in 1710 and it has been available only in the rare early editions or in an abominable miscellany published at Quebec in 1885. Moreover it is a lively, interesting narrative of the two voyages, of life at Port Royal, and of the Acadian Indians. The author, who collected botanical specimens for the Paris gardens, also wrote accurately concerning the flora and fauna. His only conspicuous omission is of the details of the cruel strife with New England. Originally written in verse at the suggestion of Michel Bégon, one of Colbert's great intendants and a patron of the arts, two-thirds of the story was changed to prose without much loss to poetry and with some gain in explicitness. The Champlain Society's edition and translation has been truly coöperative. Appropriately begun by Professor W. F. Ganong, it was relinquished by him to Dr. J. C. Webster, who has drawn heavily on Ganong's scholarship as well as on his own remarkable erudition in Nova Scotian history. In consequence the introduction and footnotes are admirably comprehensive and contribute something new to the subject, as for instance, page 169, footnote. Mrs. Webster's translation, while free, is accurate and she has happily surmounted the problem of verse by turning it into unrimed, cadenced lines. Dr. V. H. Paltsits contributes the bibliographical data. The volume is in the usual handsome form except that the French text follows the English instead of being opposite and that the society appears to have a new printer who is guilty of some grey pages and unevenness of impression. There are a few typographical errors and mishaps (for example, pp. x, 42, 69, 78, 99, 182, 212, 320). The plates and maps are excellent and useful, particularly the De Meulles plan of Port Royal in 1686 with its two New England warehouses.

Columbia University. J. B. Brebner.

Our Earliest Colonial Settlements: their Diversities of Origin and Later Characteristics. By Charles M. Andrews, Yale University. [Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History, New York University.] (New

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York, New York University Press, 1933, pp. vi, 179, $2.50.) In this little volume Professor Andrews gives us a series of thumb-nail sketches, depicting the founding of the earlier English colonies. Beginning with the futile attempts of Gilbert in Newfoundland and of Raleigh in North Carolina, he takes up in order the settlement of Virginia, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Maryland. In preparing these lectures the task which confronted Professor Andrews was to cull from the mass of historical data relating to the founding of the colonies the vital factors which made for success or failure and so to organize them as to make them understandable to the average reader. In this task his first-hand knowledge of colonial history, his charming literary style, and his grasp of the vital trends of history have combined to produce a most readable and valuable volume.

Professor Andrews consciously approaches his subject from the British rather than from the American point of view, is more concerned with the forces which produced colonization than the details of colonization itself. This treatment, in the main logical, is carried to an extreme in the lecture on Virginia, which becomes little more than a recital of the difficulties, quarrels, and failures of the London Company. Of the heroism of the men and women who risked their lives to plant the English flag in the wilderness, of their struggles against the Indians, starvation, and pestilence, he gives us almost nothing.

Professor Andrews's interpretation of our early history is essentially sound. The lecture on Massachusetts especially, is a model of dispassionate, penetrating historical writing. Discarding on the one hand the fulsome praise of one school of historians and the unreasoning condemnation of another, he points out in simple, unbiased words the true character of the Massachusetts Bay settlement and its meaning in American history. The lectures on the founding of Connecticut and Rhode Island are enlightening pictures of the beginnings of that great movement, the expansion of the Puritans and Puritanism in America.

The volume as a whole, bringing as it does fresh viewpoints to our early history, based on the latest findings of other scholars as well as on Professor Andrews's own great store of historical information, will be welcomed by all students of the British colonies.

Princeton University. T. J. Wertenbaker.

Salem in the Seventeenth Century. By James Duncan Phillips. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933, pp. xix, 420, $3.00.) During the three hundred years existence of Salem much has been written about that once active seaport and about it citizens. Mr. Phillips begins his narrative with the statement, "There has never been a real history of Salem". It is safe to say, however, that no city of its size in the United States has had so much

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of its history put into type. At least six different histories of the city have been printed and the Essex Institute has published over two hundred volumes of historical collections, proceedings, diaries, records, and monographs—all relating more or less to Salem. Sidney Perley in his monumental attempt to write the history of the city, published three volumes (1573 pages) and only reached the year 1716, before death brought his work to a close. Working over this tremendous mass of material Mr. Phillips has skillfully selected the more important happenings and produced a clear and vivid picture of how the town was established and the manner of the daily life of its inhabitants. He writes concisely, but the narrative flows smoothly and is lightened, here and there, with flashes of humor or satire. There are touches of Yankee philosophy and sometimes a piquant phrase seldom indulged in by historical writers. The text is fully and carefully annotated and shows a thorough investigation of source materials. Mr. Phillips holds a brief for the Puritan founders of the colony and has small patience for those who are not in full sympathy with the life and law of seventeenth century Massachusetts.

Salem was not entirely without amusements (p. 332) at the close of the century, as it had dancing, singing, horse racing, military trainings, huskings, bowling, and forbidden gambling and shuffleboard, while gossiping and drinking occupied altogether too much time; the children, too, had their games and toys.

There was no "House of Representatives" (p. 140) in Massachusetts in 1644; it was the "Great and General Court", composed of the magistrates and the deputies. The New England meeting house was never a *church* (pp. 86, 169, 218, 243). Rugs and carpets were not placed on floors (p. 202) in the early days. Rugs were used on beds and carpets covered the tops of tables. The contemporaneous spelling of proper names has not always been followed. Governor Cradock's name is consistently spelled *Craddock*, and Governor Phips, as *Phipps*. Governor Andros would undoubtedly rebel at *Andrews*, and *Inkersall* should be Ingersoll. Francis Nurse and his unfortunate wife did not write their names *Nourse*.

The closing chapter is an excellent description of the town and its inhabitants at the end of the century and the clearly drawn map showing Salem houses, owners, and streets in the year 1700 (redrawn from Sidney Perley's maps published in *The Essex Antiquarian*) is convenient for reference and quite worthwhile. This history of Salem should be in every library that attempts to cover American history.

Topsfield, Massachusetts. GEORGE FRANCIS DOW.

British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry. By Arthur Cecil Bining, Ph.D. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933, pp. xii, 163, $2.00.) This small volume is a very important contribution to an

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aspect of British commercial policy that has long called for systematic treatment. The author has made clear that the self-interest of particular groups in England was a most significant factor in the shaping of legislation to control the American iron industry that had before the middle of the eighteenth century assumed alarming importance in the eyes particularly of the British ironmongers and manufacturers. Indeed, there was a general demand in the mother country for its regulation but the question arose, In what manner? Dr. Bining analyzes the conflicting desires of British furnace owners, forge owners, iron manufacturers, overseas traders, and woolen merchants, and shows how, largely as a result of divergent interests, none of the efforts to secure restrictive legislation with respect to this American industry were successful until the year 1750 when a bill that seemed to satisfy in the main the demands of the last four groups and appeared to be especially advantageous to the London iron manufacturers was enacted into law. The famous statute of 1750 is thereupon carefully considered and misconceptions regarding it are cleared up, especially the idea that it made illegal the production of all steel as well as of all iron manufactures in America. The disappointing results of the act and of the subsidiary measures of 1757 and 1764, before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, are likewise studied. The author shows that all of the happy anticipations of those who sponsored these measures—that the American iron industry would thus be made to support that of Great Britain through the supply of large quantities of crude iron and that any further increase in the number of American forges and steel furnaces would be prevented—were in no way realized. On the contrary, the American iron industry developed so rapidly in the course of the eighteenth century both before and after the Act of 1750 that by 1775 the colonies could boast of a larger number of furnaces and forges than could the mother country and rivaled her in the production of pig iron and bar iron. This influenced the outcome of the Revolutionary War.

The volume is supplied with illustrations and diagrams which will be welcomed by all students who do not possess specialized knowledge of iron production and manufacture.

In conclusion it may be said that Dr. Bining is particularly well qualified to write on the iron industry, due not only to his painstaking investigations but also by reason of his close acquaintance in a practical manner with it before coming to America. His next study, soon to appear, will be welcomed.

Lehigh University. LAWRENCE H. GIPSON.

Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756–1784. Edited by George Herbert Ryden, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science, University of Delaware and State Archivist of Delaware. [Historical Society of Delaware.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933, pp. vi, 482, $6.00.)

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The publication of these letters is a welcome addition to Delaware's history in the Revolutionary period, the picture of which is still limited, unfortunately, due to the disappearance of many of the original records. This collection, consisting largely of the Rodney papers purchased by the Historical Society of Delaware in 1919, comprises all extant letters of genuine historical interest to and from Caesar Rodney. Besides letters, the volume contains Rodney's orderly books, numerous official communications, a biographical and a genealogical sketch. Thomas Rodney, Thomas McKean, and George Read are noticeably prominent among the many correspondents, 117 of the letters having passed to or from the first-named.

Though Caesar Rodney was in no sense provincial in his outlook, the point of view of these letters is largely Delawarean. If, as the editor says, Rodney's chief claim to fame in the popular mind "has been his dramatic overnight ride" to Philadelphia, July 2, 1776, the reader will find here ample proof of further distinction. Caesar and his brother, Thomas, were decisive factors in swinging Delaware over to separation; their energy and organization broke the backbone of Tory resistance in Kent County. In the Stamp Act Congress, in the Continental Congress, as president of Delaware, and in his other official capacities, Caesar was always the same careful, practical, and methodical Whig, not as violent as his coworker Thomas McKean, but a zealous patriot. One gets a measure of his influence from the contrast in state politics under Whig domination and under the conservatives, who, in temporary control, kept him out of the state constitutional convention (1776) and out of the congressional delegation early in 1777.

Her extensive coastline and her proximity to Chesapeake Bay made Delaware a haven for Tory depredations and for illicit trade and communication with the British, and, therefore, a matter of much concern to Congress after July 4, 1776. That Rodney was president of the state during most of this critical period (1778–1781) was a stroke of good fortune for the American cause. His unselfish coöperation with Congress and with Washington, his untiring industry in procuring an effective militia law, in raising and provisioning troops, in breaking up trade with the enemy, and in promoting loyalty, may seem small in the broader picture, but they bulk large against Delaware's powerful Tory resistance.

The editing of the volume is competently done, though a table of contents with a brief subject description of each item would be helpful. Any such shortcoming is diminished by the extensive and, on the whole, satisfactory index.

Butler University. JAMES H. PEELING.

The Development of Methodism in the Old Southwest, 1783–1824. By Walter Brownlow Posey, Professor of History in Birmingham-Southern Col-

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lege. (Tuscaloosa, Weatherford Printing Company, 1933, pp. 151, $1.50.) Although the title of Professor Posey's study indicates that he has contributed but another mosaic to the panorama of Methodism, in reality he has done much more. He has given us a thorough analysis of the factors in the expansion of the denomination which serves to illustrate the creative forces in early American Methodism *anywhere*. These forces are: the highly centralized organization of the church; the itinerant plan; the lay ministry; the careful system of personal supervision supplied in the organization of classes and bands; the camp meeting; Methodist hymnody which took the place of a creed in indoctrinating the members; finally, the democratic appeal of the doctrine of free grace. All of these factors are adequately treated by Professor Posey.

The study displays all the technique of careful research and the critical attitude of sound scholarship. It is thoroughly documented. The fourteen pages of carefully listed bibliography include probably all available primary sources as well as an exhaustive list of secondary materials. The selection of material and the manner of its presentation deserve high commendation. It is the judgment of this reviewer that here will be found the best composite picture of the frontier camp meeting that has appeared. Equally well done is the chapter presenting The Circuit Rider among Frontier Folk, while the chapter on Earthquakes and War introduces us to the influence of natural phenomena upon credulous and superstitious people. The work of the Methodists in furthering education and temperance and in Christianizing Indians in the area under consideration is given adequate attention as is the failure of the church to do anything beyond compromising with slavery.

Professor Posey's interesting work should be placed within reach of all students who are concerned with the character and influence of religion on the frontier. It is a fine sample of what an able student can glean from the American *Acta sanctorum*. It reveals why the denomination which was officially organized at Baltimore in 1784 "within forty years covered the entire Middle West".

American University. W. M. Gewehr.

Écrits de langue française en Louisiane au XIX^e^ siècle: Essais biographiques et bibliographiques. Par Edward Larocque Tinker, docteur de l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1932, pp. 502.)

Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana. By Edward Larocque Tinker. [Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1932.] (Worcester, the Society, 1933, pp. 126.) The plan of the first work is to list the writers, alphabetically, giving for each a biographical sketch followed by a bibliography. Approximately 350 writers are listed. Of these, 125 are Creoles (French, born in

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Louisiana), ninety French (born in France), thirty free persons of color, three Italians, one each from Cuba, Belgium, Nova Scotia, Spain, Holland, and Austria-Hungary, and 100 without designation as to nationality. Thirty-two of the 350 are women.

The biographical sketches vary widely in scope. No biographical data are given for thirty-eight of the writers listed; while the data for those accorded such treatment range from a few words—less than one line—to twenty-six pages for Bernard Marigny. The bibliographies naturally vary widely in extent, ranging from one short article appearing in a newspaper or periodical —forty-nine of the writers listed each being credited with only one such article—to nine pages of titles for Charles Gayarré.

Much of the biographical matter is gossipy, and literary rather than historical in nature. The apportionment of biographical space seems somewhat inequitable. For example, Charles Gayarré and Pierre Soulé are each given approximately the same amount of space as that accorded to one J. M. Durel, the editor of a Reconstruction newspaper. There are some glaring inaccuracies in the biographical sketches, such as the confusion (p. 135, n.) of "Jefferson College" with the "College of Louisiana".

The second work contains a valuable thirty-six page historical sketch of French Journals and Journalists of Louisiana, followed by two alphabetical lists of French newspapers of Louisiana—one list of those published in New Orleans, and another of those published in the country parishes. The reviewer feels that the lists of newspapers are not quite complete, as he recalls having seen the names of other French papers not included in the lists. There are also some inaccuracies in the listing of the extant files of some of the papers. For example, it is stated (p. 99) that "the Louisiana State University has very full files between 1826 and 1844" of the *Gazette des Opelousas,* whereas the library named has no files of this paper prior to 1841.

Both volumes have excellent indexes. In addition the second work has some valuable and useful tables (pp. 37–38, 80–83, 115–117).

The defects and shortcomings mentioned above are only such as may reasonably be expected in works of such detailed character as these; in such it is almost an impossibility to eliminate errors. And while they are not quite all that the historian could wish for, they do represent two herculean tasks on the part of the author; and he has performed them well. No research worker in the literature or history of Louisiana can afford to neglect their use.

Louisiana State University. WALTER PRICHARD.

Plantation Slavery in Georgia. By Ralph Betts Flanders, Instructor of History in New York University. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1933, pp. x, 326, $3.50.) In comparison with the earlier studies of slavery in various Southern states, this volume is distinguished by what

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may be described as a sociological approach. The first four chapters describe the introduction of slavery in colonial days and its expansion during that period and during statehood over all of Georgia. Most of the remaining eight chapters portray the actual workings of slavery on the plantations. Types of plantations are well illustrated by numerous examples, and the life of the slaves is satisfactorily described. In addition to presenting this wealth of material, some conclusions are drawn which are occasionally penetrating. Convincing evidence is presented to support the opinion that most of the plantations were not conducted with much profit, though insufficient attention is given to the question of the natural increase of slaves as a source of gain. The tradition that the ante bellum plantation homes of Georgia were generally magnificent is rudely shaken, and a number of illustrations support this apparently justified iconoclasm.

The planters' defense of slavery is set forth in the last chapter, and the author has ably summarized the arguments by which a few Georgia slaveholders and others defended the institution. But in doing so he seems to assume that all other citizens were massed with unanimity of opinion toward slavery behind their more vociferous leaders. This may have been so, but there is certainly some similarity in a Georgia map showing areas of Whig strength and one showing areas of high slave density. Yet this book gives scant information concerning class or sectional differences within the state. While it may be true that the various natural sections of the state with their differing ratios between white and slave populations had common attitudes toward slavery, would not a study of this be preferable to a reëxamination of the fairly familiar defensive armor constructed by the "philosophers" of slavery?

Some qualification should have been made of a few statements, for example, that "slavery tended to reduce the number of crimes" (p. 254), and again, that the American Colonization Society "advocated gradual emancipation and deportation" (p. 282). But in spite of these and some other points on which opinions differ, this work is an excellent description of the social and economic operation of slavery in Georgia. In addition to covering the printed sources the author has delved into a large mass of manuscripts, both in public archives and in private hands. The bibliography is well arranged and extensive, and no objection to it has been noted except the absence of several studies published since 1929.

The University of Mississippi. CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

Where Rolls the Oregon: Prophet and Pessimist look Northwest. Edited, with Bibliographical Résumé, 1825–1830, by Archer Butler Hulbert. [Overland to the Pacific, volume III.] (Published by the Stewart Commission of Colorado College and The Denver Public Library, 1933, pp. xv, 244, $5.00.) Professor Hulbert fortunately was able to see this third volume of his valu-

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able Overland series through the press personally before his lamented death. *Where Rolls the Oregon* differs from the two preceding volumes in being made up of numerous mostly short documents instead of a single journal as that of Pike which constitutes the text of Volume I. or those of the six Southwestern trail breakers in Volume II.

The editor admits that: "The records here brought together between two covers seem like strange bedfellows although almost exactly contemporaneous." The Pike journal being a personal record of exploration is naturally a unit, while geography (the Santa Fe Trail) imparts unity to the second volume. In comparison with those two books the one before us is deficient in unity, a defect which is partially overcome by the editor's illuminating introductions and skillful intercalations. Though he prints material from congressmen, cabinet ministers, senators, generals, and fur trade leaders, the book is given its character and an unusually ample share of its historical value by what the editor himself contributes.

To the reader interested in the Oregon question this volume has the further limitation that it contains only a portion of the material Hulbert designed as the definitive treatment of the subject; for the discussion of that question terminates not in 1830 but in 1846. Nevertheless, the year 1830, signalized by the publication of Smith, Jackson, and Sublett's letter about a road over South Pass, is a logical dividing point. It marks the definite shift of interest from the impracticable Lewis and Clark route to the Platte-Sweetwater-South Pass route which proved available for wagons.

Among the twenty distinct documents printed, those presenting the congressional discussion precipitated by Floyd's Oregon bill, Joshua Pilcher's account of the geography and trade of the West, General Ashley's letter on the protection of the fur trade, and Osborne Russell's intimate stories of Rocky Mountain experience in this era, contain the largest proportion of new matter, or matter not hitherto conveniently accessible. The Russell document has literary fascination as well as such historical value as may be ascribed to reminiscences.

The volume contains A. Finley's map of the West in 1827, and two Oregon trail maps; also a picture of St. Peter's Dome on the Columbia, and a picture of the Buffalo Dance of the Mandans. Naturally, one finds few errors in a book edited by Hulbert though some typographical slips did get past him. Personally, where he relies on Dale's interpretation of Smith's eastward route across the Sierras in 1826, this reviewer prefers the interpretation of C. Hart Merriam. The index is not particularly inclusive.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. JOSEPH SCHAFER.

Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860. By Grant Foreman. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1933, pp. 363, $4.00.) Among the many recent studies of the Trans-Mississippi frontier, Mr. Foreman's works de-

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scriptive of the Oklahoma Indian settlements have drawn much attention to this border region. In the present attractive volume he carries further his researches among the records dealing with what he has called the earlier Southwest, "between the Mississippi River and New Spain". He deals mainly with three phases of life in the Indian Territory or Oklahoma: the establishment of frontier garrisons; Indian life and inter-tribal relationships; and the establishment of missionary workers among these reservation tribes. In his effort to depict the life of the soldiery in the garrisons the author too frequently digresses into a dreary and statistical recital of architectural details and into rambling accounts of supplies received and disbursed. Such materials on Forts Towson, Gibson, Washita, Arbuckle, and Coffee may prove valuable to future local historians, but one is led to doubt their value or interest for the general reader. More useful would have been a few succinct estimates of the final significance of these posts. What has been said of the account of military establishments might be applied in a measure to his descriptions of the Indian pioneers. The settlements of the Choctaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Chickasaw tribes are particularly detailed, and there is some discussion of such plains tribes as the Comanche, Kiowa, Osage, and Pawnee. The most noteworthy and interesting passages are those quoted from such observers as John Howard Payne, the early missionaries, and a few army officers and travelers. Relations with Mexico and Texas in the Red River Valley are inadequately described, apparently because the author did not examine carefully the materials available on the Indian policies of those republics.

Mr. Foreman has drawn liberally upon the United States Indian archives, upon printed government documents, and upon many contemporary newspapers. For the rest, the volume is well supplied with good maps and diagrams, is fully documented, and is equipped with a fair bibliography and an elaborate index. If the author's viewpoint is chiefly local, it may at least be said of his work that it points the way for other students in this field, and that its material should prove interesting to all who are concerned with the Indian frontier and the Federal Indian policy.

The Arizona State Teachers College. RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

Colorado: the Story of a Western Commonwealth. By LeRoy R. Hafen, Ph.D., Historian of the State Historical Society of Colorado. (Denver, Peerless Publishing Company, 1933, pp. 328, $4.00.) It is gratifying to note the progress that is being made in the writing of Western state history. Happily this field, so long regarded as the exclusive domain of the reminiscent pioneer, has been entered of late by men who have a better understanding of what history is, and how it should be written. The results are what might be expected: less emphasis upon the spectacular, more upon the substantial; less

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concern about politics, more about social and economic development; less attention to the "old-timer", more to the conditions that have ushered in the present age. These improvements are due, in part at least, to the equally important changes that in the last generation have come over our Western historical societies. No thoughtful person would deny credit to the self-appointed custodians of tradition who laid the foundations of these societies, but he need not regret to see the work of collecting, preserving, and editing the sources of Western history taken over with increasing frequency by trained historians. Sometimes, as in the present instance, historians are also employed to make use of these materials. It is greatly to be hoped that the economies in state expenditures, so generally required by the times, will not necessitate a return to the haphazard historical methods of yesterday.

Mr. Hafen's book is a fair sample of the later trend in the writing of state history. His narrative is too condensed to permit the introduction of much of the new material we know he has found, but he does produce a well-knit narrative, he wastes no more time than is reasonable on the glamorous days of the gold rush, and he takes his politics in high. His chapters on Pioneer Life, and on the Days of Distress of the early nineties, are admirable. Some criticisms, however, must be made. The allotment of space is open to serious objection, for more than half the pages are devoted to Colorado before statehood. More important, there is an air of complacency about the book, a kind of smugness, that suggests the type of state history writing that Mr. Hafen should have made it his business to forget. One wonders if the railroads of Colorado were built and its mines developed without more scandal than is here apparent, if the repeated labor difficulties of the state had not a more sinister meaning than is here revealed, if any of its politicians were really "distinguished statesmen".

The book is attractive in format and entertainingly illustrated. "Selected references for further reading" at the end of each chapter suggest that it may be intended to serve as a textbook.

The University of Wisconsin. JOHN D. HICKS.

British Preëminence in Brazil, its Rise and Decline: a Study in European Expansion. By Alan K. Manchester, Ph.D. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1933, pp. xi, 371, $3.50.) This book describes six centuries of diplomacy during which first Portugal became a virtual puppet of England and later Brazil yielded itself as an unwilling protectorate of that power. When the Bragança family fled to Rio de Janeiro to escape Junot's army, Brazil had long shared with the mother country disadvantageous economic and political relations with Great Britain. And in the 1820's, as the price of recognition of its independence by Great Britain, it was forced to agree to suppression of the African slave trade and to British economic

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preëminence within its borders. For more than three decades thereafter the youthful empire struggled against this hated domination, and by 1860 had rid itself of British extraterritorial rights and of all other British political prerogatives. But Great Britain maintained economic dominance in all lines until after the World War. Then, the United States of America gained the leading share of Brazil's export and import trade.

This work, based largely on manuscript materials, is a pioneer study of an important subject, and shows careful analysis of the evidence considered. But the unpublished sources consulted by Dr. Manchester are almost wholly limited to those to be found in England. He did not tap the manuscript archives of Portugal and Brazil. Though it is hardly likely that his major conclusions would have been changed by these records, further research would doubtless have influenced questions of secondary importance, such as the motives behind Brazilian policies. It would, for instance, have revealed that Pedro II.'s deep national pride and his sense of responsibility as "perpetual defender of Brazil" were factors, of a negative sort, in delaying suppression of the African slave trade. The emperor could not humiliate his country to the extent of yielding wholly to the arrogant dictation of Great Britain relative to elimination of the traffic.

The volume is well written, with convenient summaries, and shows careful regard for factual accuracy. A few slips were noted, however. Dona Barbara de Bragança was the wife, not the mother (p. 112) of Ferdinand VI. of Spain. And the compiler and editor of *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648* was not Francis Davenport (p. 350), but Frances Gardiner Davenport; not a man, but a woman. There is an impressive bibliography—save for the omissions already mentioned—and a good index.

Goucher College. MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Henry Adams. By James Truslow Adams. (New York, Albert and Charles Boni, 1933, pp. 246, $2.50.) This monograph is in no sense a biography; prepared originally for a collected edition of the works of Henry Adams which is yet to appear, it is merely a biographical and critical essay. As such it is admirably done, but those who seek for a full history of Henry Adams's life will not find it here. The author's commentary tries to explain rather than supplement the record given in the *Education*. There are a few new facts; Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor is quoted in some interesting reminiscences of Henry Adams as a teacher at Harvard; and at least one striking error in the *Education* is corrected. But in the main the volume is simply a summary of what is already known (Mrs. Adams, for example, is nowhere drawn from the shadow in which the *Education* left her) with a critical interpretation. This interpretation is both simple and just. According to the author,

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Henry Adams struggled most of his life against the weight of his heritage. He longed to put his hand on the levers of power; it was impossible, and minor achievements seemed to a descendant of Presidents thin, vain, and ironic; hence from feats that would have satisfied most ambitions he gained only disappointment and disillusionment. Whether in addition to being just, this analysis is adequate; whether other factors, connected with his wife's suicide, his peculiar concepts of religion and science, and the increasing overbalance of the intellectual against the emotional in his make-up, should not be considered—this we can know only if and when a thorough biography is written. Meanwhile Mr. James Truslow Adams's essay is not only a delightful but an illuminating piece of prose. Many readers will disagree with parts of it. Assuredly the author errs, for example, when he quotes Henry Adams as regarding William C. Whitney as the truest example of success; Adams knew too well the Whitney who "gorged every appetite", and his praise is ironic, beside that of Abram S. Hewitt. Henry Adams's faults might also have been more sharply indicated. But the book is both a useful record and a stimulating analysis.

Columbia University. ALLAN NEVINS.

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COMMUNICATION

The EDITOR of the *American Historical Review:*

Mr. N. W. Stephenson's The Romantics and George Washington in your January issue may have been an earnest effort to furnish comic relief for your serious pages; but he sacrificed the historian to the humorist, and denied himself the historian's noble privilege of presenting an opposing view with fairness, especially to the reader, who is the innocent bystander.

As the butt of his japes, I naturally do not find them as funny as he did, but the important thing is that he does not even mention the most solid evidence in the case. There is a rather ugly sneer in his inclusion of me among those who say of Washington "that they have proved him to be a 'human being'. What they mean is that they believe he was in love with his neighbor's wife".

Perhaps Mr. Stephenson obeyed the rule "Smile when you say it". But he says that I regard the Sally Fairfax episode as "one of the great love stories of all time", though I show in my biography that I do not regard it as a love story at all. "There is no proof, and no reason to assume, that it went beyond wretched courtship on his part, and teasing yet tyrannical evasion on hers" (I. 176).

Of this there is irrefragable evidence, which Mr. Stephenson does not remove by calling me a "romantic" because I believe what he as "your hard-headed historian" denies: that "after becoming engaged to Martha he was capable of writing to the other woman a passionate declaration of undying devotion". Isn't Mr. Stephenson, rather, the true "romantic" with his insistence on making his heroes Galahads and deciding just what they are capable of?

Washington was certainly "capable" of signing himself "most unalterably" in a mysterious letter written to Sally after his engagement to Martha (Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington,* II. 294); and forty years later he was capable of writing two letters to Sally (Ford, XIII. 497, 500), one for Martha to copy and send, and one for himself in which he gently urged her to return home, and added that none of the great past events, "nor all of them together, have been able to eradicate from my mind the recollections of those happy moments, the happiest in my life, which I have enjoyed in your company". And he heavily underscored it.

If it be objected that this was an old man's flattery, what of the letter he wrote to Sally, June 7, 1755 (Fitzpatrick, I. 137), in which he says that Sally asked him to write to her under cover, and speaks forlornly of his inability "to engage one minute of your attention".

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Mr. Stephenson, in his belated assault on my seven-year old first volume, speaks of my "sentimental discovery" though Sally Fairfax has been under fierce debate for fifty-seven years, ever since the New York *Herald* published that alleged letter of his. I found it in Ford's forty-five year old edition of the *Writings,* and elaborate discussions of it in the monograph of Wilson Miles Cary and elsewhere. [It is found in Fitzpatrick, II. 287.]

Mr. E. E. Prussing wrote on this same subject and at a meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, in December, 1932, Mr. Stephenson asked Mr. Prussing about the letter. Mr. Prussing said that he had talked to Constance Cary Harrison, who told him she had inherited the letter as a descendant of Sally's. She had lent it to a kinsman to transcribe. It was stolen and never could be traced after its sale. Mr. Stephenson evidently discounts this evidence for he does not mention it but makes much of the letter's disappearance. Yet nearly a sixth of the *Diaries* had to be taken by Fitzpatrick from versions printed long ago and now inaccessible. Even the famous little farewell note to Martha in 1758 has vanished. Mr. Stephenson blandly waves Sally Fairfax out of Washington's life as a "myth" that "has for its foundation a newspaper article and nothing else".

Grant him his point. Assume that the letter dated September 12, 1758, never appeared, or has been proved a forgery. There still remain many other letters and allusions. There is his letter of September 25, 1758, which is undeniable (Fitzpatrick, II. 292). It begins "Do we still misunderstand the true meaning of each other's Letters?" It breaks off. "I cannot speak plainer without—But I'll say no more and leave you to guess the rest."

Where are those other letters? Why the misunderstanding, the mystery so much like that in the letter of September 12th? Why the fervent implications in the rest of the letter? If I were permitted the space here I could point out amazing little Washingtonian touches in the disputed letter. It is strangely confirmed by a letter from William Fairfax (S. M. Hamilton, *Letters to Washington,* II. 67). I have no room to quote this, or anything, and I can only urge anyone interested to refer to my first volume, where he will find the arguments pro and con, none of which Mr. Stephenson has done me, or himself, the justice to mention. I have read thousands of Washington's letters in the original and I cannot believe a forger capable of such perfect mimicry of his style or of the ability to fit so passionate an outpouring of a troubled heart so exquisitely into the circumstantial evidence. I still believe it genuine; and, if I were a wit like Mr. Stephenson, I would archly accuse him of believing it, too. He does not dare deny it flatly.

But while refusing to budge from this point, I abandon another instantly. Mr. Stephenson has caught me in one blunder, and a stupid one, which I cheerlessly confess—a confusion of both chronology and geography in an

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attempt to solve the mystery of Braddock's invitation to Washington to serve as his aid. I made a conjecture that Sally Fairfax might have had a hand in it at Alexandria. Though I frankly put it forward with "perhaps" and "may have" Mr. Stephenson ekes an amazing amount of good clean fun out of the fact that Orme's invitation to Washington was written March 2, from Williamsburg, long before Braddock reached Alexandria. He landed at Hampton, which was Sally's father's home, but I no longer even hint that she influenced Washington's appointment, though she was a lively and flirtatious figure among the women who swarmed about Braddock.

After pointing out the bad guesses of all other historians, Mr. Stephenson clears it up with a "surely":

> Surely, it was Dinwiddie who—not in bright-eyed whispering but in his hard, just, Scotch way—put it up to Braddock to do the sensible thing and add to his staff the Virginian whom he most needed to have.

I should like to heap coals of fire on Mr. Stephenson's proudest boast, his hard head, but I cannot share his sense of his inspired rightness. While Dinwiddie was preparing for Braddock's arrival and writing letters in all directions, he seems never to have written one to Washington or referred to him in any way. He and Washington had quarreled hotly and even after Orme's invitation, Dinwiddie was still writing of Washington's disgrace and disobedience at Fort Necessity (Virginia Historical Society Collections, *Dinwiddie Papers,* I. 524).

> You know Washington's Conduct was in many Steps wrong and did not conform to his Orders from me, or he had not engaged till the other Forces joined him.

Furthermore, if Dinwiddie had recommended Washington to Braddock, would not Orme have mentioned it? At the risk of inspiring Mr. Stephenson to another comic opera libretto, I venture the suggestion that Washington himself put forward the idea. In his acknowledgement of Orme's invitation, Washington wrote from Mount Vernon March 15, 1755 (Fitzpatrick, I. 107) stating that he had already written to Braddock "a congratulatory letter on his safe arrival,&c".

That "&c" might well have included mention of his desire to accompany Braddock but for certain unpleasant difficulties. He wrote to John Robinson (Fitzpatrick, I. 112) that he had "been importuned to make this Campaigne by Gen[l] Braddock in his Family Who I suppose, imagined that the small knowledge I have had an opportunity of acquiring of the Country, Indians, &c. worthy of his notice".

Eager to go to war, but unwilling to subject himself to the humiliations that he had suffered from a colonial commission, he may well have put the

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case before Braddock in the guise of a letter of welcome. Since Braddock could not give a colonial a higher commission than a captaincy (Fitzpatrick, II. 112) and since Washington would not accept a "demotion" from his late colonelcy, Braddock invited him to go along without any commission, as a member of his own family. And he marched forth to that great disaster about which so many myths have gathered.

RUPERT HUGHES.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The eagerly awaited report of the Commission on Social Studies in the Schools has appeared. It is entitled *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission* (Scribner's, pp. xi, 168, $1.25). After a brief preface by the chairman, Professor A. C. Krey, the volume is divided into eight chapters, followed by three appendixes. The chapters are: The Obligations and Procedure of the Commission; The Frame of Reference; Philosophy and Purpose in Education; Selection and Organization of Materials of Instruction; Method of Teaching; Tests and Testing; The Teacher; Public Relations and Administration. The volume was received too late for a formal review, but it may not be out of place to indicate, chiefly by quotation, some of the conclusions which the Commission has reached or points of view which it emphasizes. As the Commission remarks at the close of Appendix A, it "has felt bound, by the terms of its instructions and the nature of the subject entrusted to its consideration, to provide a frame of reference for the orientation of philosophy and purpose in education, rather than a bill of minute specifications for guidance". It is, therefore, a doctrine, not a detailed course of study, which is the principal subject of the report. The "frame of reference" is more precisely described in chapter II. This controls the Philosophy and Purpose of Education presented in chapter III. The Commission believing that "American society during the past hundred years has been moving from an individualistic and frontier economy to a collective and social economy" has reached the conclusion that "in the United States as in other countries, the age of individualism and *laissez-faire* in economy and government is closing and that a new age of collectivism is emerging". "As to the specific form which this 'collectivism' . . . is taking and will take in the future, the evidence at hand is by no means clear or unequivocal . . . . Most likely, it will issue from a process of experimentation and will represent a composite of historic doctrines and social conceptions yet to appear." The change is not free from an alarming alternative; "it may permit the widest development of personality or lead to a bureaucratic tyranny destructive of ideals of popular democracy and cultural freedom". The danger of such "goose-step regimentation in ideas, culture, and invention" must be warded off, in order to secure "the reservation to the individual of the largest possible measure of freedom in the realms of personal and cultural growth, and the preservation of individuality in its non-acquisitive expressions as the finest flower of civilized society". The Commission regards the present as a period of transition, but it also thinks that the "period of adjustment will be prolonged and will be marked by struggle and uncertainty, by oscillation of

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action and reaction". If the emerging economy is to operate efficiently and its potentialities are to be fully utilized, profound changes are required "in the attitudes and outlook of the American people, especially the rising generation—a complete and frank recognition that the old order is passing, that the new order is emerging . . . ." Such a situation evidently calls for new opportunities of education offered to children and youth, for teachers with a broader training, and school administrators who are social statesmen. These requirements are especially considered in chapters IV., VII., and VIII., Materials of Instruction, The Teacher, and Public Relations and Administration. The selection and gradation of materials may be undertaken, says the Commission "on the assumption that the ordinary pupil will remain in school through the period of adolescence and will even have opportunities for continued education in adult years". Economic insecurity is no longer to abridge the period of education. Changed conditions of life will imply "the extension to every individual, regardless of birth, class, race, or religion, or economic status, of the opportunity for the fullest development of his creative capacities, his spiritual qualities, his individuality . . . ." Furthermore, if the challenge implicit in the critical condition of American society is to "be met successfully, faith must be placed primarily, not in more luxuriously appointed school buildings or in refinements of the material and mechanical aspects of administration and supervision—important though these may be—but in the increase of the competence and spiritual power of the individual teacher". As to the teacher, in order to bring the more gifted into service the conditions and rewards of work should be improved and the work made "worthy of the highest qualities of mind and character potential in humanity . . . ." To this end the training of teachers must receive a different direction. Since the opening of the present century many efforts have been made "to reduce education to a quantitative or deterministic science, to make teacher training essentially a matter of the mastery of techniques and formulae and thus to deny the rôle of the human spirit as a dreaming, creative force in history". Too many of the older normal schools and teachers' colleges "conceived their task largely in the terms of methods and techniques and so fostered the separation of methodology from the main stream of social knowledge and thought". The universities have also been at fault, becoming "engrossed in the pursuit of learning for its own sake" and refusing "to relate their work to the tasks of education". The Commission then proceeds to suggest the changes which should be made in the general scheme of training both by teachers' colleges and universities. The teacher of the future must "desire to associate with the great spirits of the ages through the persistent study of the classics of social thought" and gain familiarity "with the great social trends, tensions, and philosophies of the age". On the side of administration, the teacher should be free from "the rigid prescriptions of formal and detailed supervision, from all practices pointing toward the mechanization and devitalization of the educative process". In the education

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of the administrator emphasis must again be laid, as it was in the formative period of American education, "on social science, social philosophy and statecraft". The Commission believes that if the teaching profession is to realize its true aims it must be more effectively organized, capable of defending its members against the attacks of selfish minorities and ignorant majorities. "In view of the living and controversial character of the field of instruction embraced by the social sciences, such protection is peculiarly imperative. The only hope for a peaceful settlement of the gigantic and bitter conflicts among groups, classes, and peoples which have already shaken American society to its foundations and produced revolutions in many countries would seem to lie in the direction of keeping open the channels of thought and inquiry." In addition to these more general considerations the Commission presents many practical recommendations and criticisms on specific questions of material and methods of instruction. Several of these are dealt with not only in the chapter on Materials of Instruction, but also in those on Method of Teaching and Tests and Testing. As the report is a closely worded statement of 143 pages any brief summary must be accepted as an imperfect presentation, emphasizing the need of a careful examination of the document itself.

The College Entrance Examination Board has recently appointed a Commission on History to study the advisability of revising the board's examination in history. The members of the commission are James P. Baxter, III., Edmund E. Day, Harold W. Dodds, Claude M. Fuess, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Tyler Kepner, William L. Langer, Wallace Notestein, Edward P. Smith, C. Mildred Thompson, George Van Santvoord, and Conyers Read, chairman. The appointment of the commission has been prompted to a considerable extent by the recommendations of the Commission on the Social Studies of this Association. The first meeting of the new commission was held on May 21 in New York. In the letter sent out to all the schools in the United States and Canada which presented more than fifteen candidates for the College Entrance Board examinations last June one question is of particular interest: Should we enlarge our definition of history to include not merely political and diplomatic history but also economic, social, and cultural history?

The most recent volume published from the fund contributed by the Carnegie Corporation is *The Mississippi Question, 1795–1803: a Study in Trade, Politics, and Diplomacy,* by Arthur Preston Whitaker.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

With the April number of this journal a report of the Executive Secretary on research projects appeared as a supplement. It was perhaps inevitable that the works of not a few scholars should have escaped notice. The *Review* in this section intends to make such additions, with similar classification, to

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the published list as shall be brought to the attention of the Executive Secretary. It is to be borne in mind, as stated in the original questionnaire sent to universities and other institutions, that the list is not designed to include research works undertaken to satisfy the requirements of advanced degrees. The following additions have been reported thus far:

I. General

A history of freedom in teaching. Prog. 500 pp. 1 yr. Howard K. Beale, Washington, D. C.

VIII. Germany

Liberalism and reaction in Germany, 1815–1840. Prog. 3 yrs. Freeland F. Penney, Lawrence, Kansas.

IX.(b) Great Britain since 1485

The Indian administration of Lord Ellenborough. Prog. 250 pp. 1 yr. Albert H. Imlah, Tufts College.

A definitive biography of James Edward Oglethorpe, founder of Georgia, imperial idealist. Prog. 1 yr. Amos A. Ettinger, Allentown, Pennsylvania.

XVIII. The United States

(2) Cultural

Origins and development of the land-grant college movement to 1890. Prog. 2 yrs. Earl D. Ross, Iowa State College.

(5) Religious

Religion on the American frontier, Volume II., Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Prog. 3 yrs. Department of Church History, W. W. Sweet, ed., The University of Chicago.

(8) Since 1782

A study of George Clinton, first governor of the state of New York and vice president of the United States. Prog. 500 pp. 1 yr. E. Wilder Spaulding, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Benjamin F. Butler, U. S. A. Prog. 300 pp. 4 yrs. Paul Lewinson, Washington, D. C.

A life of Theodore Roosevelt. Prog. 4 yrs. Howard K. Beale, Washington, D. C.

(12) The Middle West

Wisconsin Domesday Book, Volume III., the Winnebago and Horicon Basin, including the counties of Dodge, Fond du Lac, Winnebago, and Calumet. Joseph Schafer, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Prog. 2 yrs.

The Executive Secretary desires the following corrections to be made in the list already published. Certain gentlemen were designated as belonging to McGill University. Their names, correct addresses, with the numbered

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entries where the corrections should be made, are: Ivanhoë Caron (769, 770, 771), Archives Provinciales, Quebec; Aegidius Fauteux (763, 765, 767, 768, 777), Bibliothèque Municipale, Montreal; Gustave Lanctot (761, 762, 766), Dominion Archives, Ottawa; E. Z. Massicotte (774), Court House, Montreal; Pierre-Georges Roy (764), Archives Provinciales, Quebec.

PERSONAL

Henry Read McIlwaine, Virginia state librarian, died on March 16 at the age of 69. He was a graduate of Hampden-Sydney College in the class of 1885 and received his doctorate at the Johns Hopkins University in 1893. For the succeeding four years he was professor of English and history at his *Alma Mater*. In 1907 he resigned to become state librarian. He was editor of the Virginia State Library edition of the *Journals of the House of Burgesses* and of the *Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*. At the Urbana meeting of the American Historical Association he was elected president of the Conference of Historical Societies.

William Henry Welch, distinguished physician and profound student of the history of medicine, died on April 30 at the age of 84. He was the founder of the Institute of the History of Medicine at the Johns Hopkins University. He was also deeply interested in the History of Science Society, of which he was chosen president in 1931. He had been actively connected with the Johns Hopkins University since 1884.

Julian Alvin Carroll Chandler, president of William and Mary College, died on May 31 at the age of 61. A graduate of William and Mary College, he received his doctorate in 1896 at the Johns Hopkins University. He began the teaching of history at his *Alma Mater*, and served as professor of history at Richmond College from 1897 to 1900, and 1908 to 1909. Among his writings were *History of Suffrage in Virginia* (1899) and *Makers of Virginia History* (1904).

William Robert Shepherd, for many years a distinguished member of the faculty of political science in Columbia University, died on June 7 at the age of 62. A graduate of Columbia in the class of 1893, he received his doctoral degree there three years later. He also studied at the University of Berlin. Soon afterward he began his teaching career at Columbia. In 1908 he was promoted to a professorship, and in 1926 he was appointed Seth Low Professor of History. His field was the history of Latin America. He prepared the *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in the Spanish Archives* which was published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1907. Other works in this field were *Latin America* (1914) and *The Hispanic Nations of the New World* (1919). He was also the author of a *Historical Atlas* (7th ed., 1929), which was familiarly known to thousands

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of college students as "Shepherd's Atlas". In recognition of his work in the interpretation of Spain in America, King Alfonso made him a knight commander with the Star of the Royal Order of Isabella the Catholic. He was similarly honored in Germany and Austria, because he was always a convinced defender of the substantial values of Teutonic civilization. He was twice invited to lecture in Vienna, in 1932 acting as Visiting Carnegie Professor at the university. At the time of his death he was in Berlin and was scheduled to deliver a lecture at the university, which had to be read in his absence because he was suffering from a heart attack soon to prove fatal.

Henry Palmer Chapman, fourth abbot of Downside, died on November 7 at the age of 69. Educated at Christ Church he was ordained an Anglican deacon in 1899 and was received into the Catholic Church a year later. Among his writings as an eminent church historian were *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate* (1908), *Studies in the Early Papacy* (1928), and *St. Benedict and the Sixth Century* (1929).

Charles Robert Leslie Fletcher, the English historian, died on May 1 at the age of 76. He was educated at Oxford and was successively fellow of All Souls and fellow and tutor of Magdalen. From 1905 to 1927 he was delegate of the Clarendon Press. His principal writings were an *Introductory History of England* (5 vols., 1905–1923) and the *Making of Western Europe* (2 vols., 1912, 1914). He also edited a critical edition of Carlyle's *French Revolution* (1902).

Henri Prentout, the eminent historian of Normandy, died in November at the age of 66. He was a frequent contributor to historical journals and was the author of *Caen et Bayeux* (1909); *Essai sur les origines et la fondation du duché de Normandie* (1911); and *Étude critique sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin et son histoire des premiers ducs normands* (1916).

John Viénot, historian of French Protestantism, died on December 28 at the age of 74. Among his writings were *Histoire de la Réforme dans le pays de Montbéliard* (1904) and *Histoire de la Réforme française des origines à l'édit de Nantes* (1926).

Medieval studies have recently lost two notable scholars, Jean Ebersolt and Joseph Kulischer, both relatively young, Ebersolt 54 and Kulischer 55. The former was a Byzantinist. His doctoral theses dealt with the *Grand-Palais de Constantinople* and *Sainte-Sophie*. His later works included *Les églises de Constantinople* (1913), the *Sanctuaires de Byzance* (1921), and *Orient et Byzance* (2 vols., 1928, 1929). Kulischer dealt primarily with economic history. His best known work in its German edition was entitled *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. His career as a teacher was passed at the University of Leningrad.

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Luigi Schiaparelli, the eminent Italian medievalist, died on January 26 at the age of 62. As a student at the University of Turin he came under the influence of the historian and paleographer Carlo Cipolla. Later he studied at the University of Munich. Paul Kehr, who was preparing his monumental edition of the most ancient papal bulls, interested him in searching in out-of-the-way libraries and collections for these documents. In 1902 he was appointed professor of paleography and diplomatics at the Istituto di Studi Superiori (now the university) in Florence. He there began a long series of publications. The greatest of his paleographical studies is probably the photographic reproduction of *Il Codice 490 della biblioteca capitolare di Lucca*, with an introduction and an accompanying study, *Il Codice 490 di Lucca e la scuola scrittoria lucchese*.

Corrado Ricci, famous for his excavations in Rome, died on June 5 at the age of 76. It was in the period from 1906 to 1919, when he was director of antiquities and fine arts, that he initiated the work in the market of Trajan, the forum of Augustus, and that of Nerva, and carried forward the restoration of the Theater of Marcellus, to name only a few of the monuments of the ancient city to whose excavation or restoration he devoted himself.

In the *Revue des études historiques* for January–March are interpretations of the character and work of three eminent French historians who have died recently: Camille Jullian, by Léon Mirot; Pierre de La Gorce, by B. Combes de Patris; and Emmanuel Rodocanachi, by Em. Deborde de Montcorin.

The fellowships within the historical field, awarded by the American Council of Learned Societies, with the project upon which the incumbent is engaged are: Solomon Katz, a literary, inscriptional, and archæological study of ancient Bithynia; A. O. Sarkissian, the intellectual background of Armenian nationalism; J. W. Stanton, University of Michigan, the foreign relations of the Chinese Empire from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, with particular reference to Russia; Harcourt Brown, a study of the Huguenot Henry Justel (1620–1693) and his influence in the history of science. The grants-in-aid are: O. F. Ander, Augustana College, the Swedish-American press; P. V. C. Baur, Yale University, glass from the excavations of Jerash, Trans-Jordan; C. W. David, Bryn Mawr College, an edition of "De expugnatione Silvensi"; J. P. Harland, University of North Carolina, report on excavations of the prehistoric site at Nemea; W. E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, Belgian neutrality in modern European literature; Nellie Neilson, Mt. Holyoke College, analysis of a late fifteenth century roll of common pleas; J. C. Russell, University of North Carolina, writers of thirteenth century England.

Three of the fellowships awarded by the Social Science Research Council

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lie specifically within the historical field: Knight Biggerstaff, for study in China of the life and times of Ho Shen, and of his influence upon the Manchu Dynasty; B. J. Loewenberg, for study in England of science and philosophy as a background for research in American cultural history; R. P. Stearns, Harvard University, for study in England of the economics of mercantilism. The grants-in-aid are: H. C. Bell, Wesleyan University, a life of Lord Palmerston; A. C. Bining, University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania iron manufacture, 1800–1865; S. M. Brown, Lehigh University, the diary of an archbishop, Eudes Rigaud; W. H. Callcott, University of South Carolina, Antonio López de Santa Anna; E. P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, the invention of the steamboat; C. V. Easum, University of Wisconsin, a life of Prince Henry of Prussia; J. L. Glanville, Southern Methodist University, Italian expansion since 1900; Oscar Jászi, Oberlin College, recent political and international developments in the succession states; D. E. Lee, Clark University, British policy in connection with the acquisition of Cyprus, 1878; A. S. Morton, University of Saskatchewan, life of Sir George Simpson; F. L. Nussbaum, University of Wyoming, commerce and politics before and during the French Revolution; J. W. Pratt, University of Buffalo, United States and the Hawaiian revolution of 1893; Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, Sir William Cecil and the Elizabethan administrative system; H. H. Sprout, Princeton University, American foreign policy; R. H. Woody, Duke University, life and times of Christopher Gadsden.

Two of the historical profession have recently resigned their chairs of instruction to become presidents of colleges: Dixon Ryan Fox, of Columbia University, to be president of Union College, and Tyler Dennett, of Princeton University, to be president of Williams College.

Professor S. F. Bemis will be lecturer in history at Harvard University for the first semester, 1934–1935, and Farnam Professor of Diplomatic History at Yale University beginning February 1, 1935.

Dr. Paul L. Dengler of the University of Vienna will be visiting Carnegie Professor in the department of history at the University of Iowa for the first semester of next year.

The following appointments may be noted: *University of Washington,* Dr. Giovanni Costigan as assistant professor of English history; *Western Reserve University,* Dr. Donald G. Barnes as professor of English history.

The following promotions may be noted: *Amherst College,* E. Dwight Salmon to be associate professor; *Clark University,* Ray A. Billington to be assistant professor; *Columbia University,* Teachers College, Erling M. Hunt to be associate professor; *Harvard University,* Paul Rice Doolin and Mason Hammond to be assistant professors; *University of Michigan,* S. Morley Scott

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and Benjamin W. Wheeler to be assistant professors; *Stanford University,* Harold Henry Fisher to be associate professor; *Vassar College,* Louise Fargo Brown to be professor and Elizabeth Y. Webb to be assistant professor; *Yale University,* E. R. Goodenough to be professor of the History of Religion.

Leaves of absence for the year 1934–1935 have been granted as follows: *Harvard University,* J. P. Baxter for the first semester and C. H. Taylor for the second; *University of Illinois,* Marcus L. Hansen for the year; *Princeton University,* Gray C. Boyce, appointed Benjamin D. Shreve Fellow, for the year; *Vassar College,* Caroline F. Ware for the year; *Wellesley College,* Barnette Miller for the second semester.

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *University of Colorado,* Eugene C. Barker; *University of North Carolina,* E. M. Carroll; *The University of Texas,* W. C. Binkley and Dora Neill Raymond.

Mr. Julius H. Tuttle has resigned his position as librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His successor is Mr. Allyn B. Forbes.

Dr. Harlow Lindley has been chosen secretary and librarian of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. Dr. Lindley had been previously curator of history, having been associated with the work of the society for the past six years. He succeeds Charles Burleigh Galbreath, who died on February 23 at the age of 75. Mr. Galbreath had held the office for fourteen years.

Dr. George Sarton, associate of the Carnegie Institution, editor of *Isis,* has been elected a member of the American Philosophical Society.

GENERAL

General review: Henri Sée, *Histoire économique et sociale, 1931–1932* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); Gino Luzzatto, *Storia economica* (N. Riv. Stor., Sept.); Josef Pfitzner, *Die Geschichte Osteuropas u. d. Geschichte d. Slawentums als Forschungsprobleme* (Hist. Zeitsch., Apr.).

In *History* for March is an interesting report of a discussion of Freedom in the Teaching of History, which took place at the annual meeting of the British Historical Association last January. The principal address was made by Dr. G. G. Coulton of Cambridge. Like several of those who shared in the discussion, he did not appear to think that propaganda, even propaganda in the interest of a new and better social order, should be the business of the teacher who enjoyed the substantial freedom characteristic of England. He remarked, "If the teacher feels himself primarily a prophet, then he can claim only a prophet's reward, which I need hardly specify before an historical audience". Dr. Coulton thought that the teachers were suffering more from their own inhibitions than from the prohibitions which the community laid upon them. One of these inhibitions accounted for the strange pre-war

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silence upon the conditions which led to the catastrophe of 1914. He added, two whole generations of university teachers virtually abandoned applied history to the politicians. Dr. Coulton accordingly appealed for a greater development of the practical side of our studies, for "applied history, just as the scientist organises applied science".

The Huntington Library *Bulletin,* No. 5, for April, 1934 (Harvard University Press), opens with a Summary Report on the Hastings Manuscripts, a great collection of 50,000 pieces which came into the possession of the library eight years ago. It includes papers, documents, or letters belonging to every period since the twelfth century. The last three centuries are most abundantly represented. The report is divided into sections, the Manorial papers, Papers relating to Scotland and Ireland, Maps and plans, etc. Within each section there are subdivisions for the period covered, the subject matter, the persons represented, and the more important items. By such arrangements the maximum convenience of the student is skillfully served. The manorial papers, drawn from an astonishing number of localities, illustrate almost every phase of the subject. In the section called Miscellaneous papers is a subdivision on America. America also appears in the correspondence, for there are 150 letters of Lord Rawdon, who was the 1st Marquess of Hastings. This *Bulletin* contains also three essays: Thomas Digges, the Copernican System, and the Idea of the Infinity of the Universe in 1576, by Francis R. Johnson and Sanford V. Larkey; Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Elianor Cobham his Wife in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, by Lily B. Campbell; and Arminian versus Puritan in England, *ca.* 1620–1640, by Godfrey Davies.

No. 21 of the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences,* pp. 909–912, presents, in a form which may often be useful to historical students, a schematic exposition of the various *fondi* of the Vatican Archives, by Monsignor Angelo Mercati, prefect of those archives.

The Estonian Academic Historical Society has begun the publication of a *Bibliotheca Estoniae historica, 1877–1917* (Tortu, Loadus).

Dr. Charles A. Beard's four lectures delivered at Amherst in 1916 on the Clark Foundation, and published five years later under the title of *The Economic Basis of Politics,* have now been republished (Knopf, 1934, pp. vii, 99). In his new preface Dr. Beard remarks that the significance of the volume lies "in the extent to which it made a forecast, with a fair degree of accuracy, on the basis of historical findings".

Between Two Worlds: Interpretations of the Age in which we live (Scribner's, 1934, pp. xv, 450, $3.00), by Nicholas Murray Butler, is a collection of addresses delivered in 1932, 1933, and 1934. With Dr. Butler the main question at the moment is whether the new world toward which we are moving shall be one "in which Liberty will remain the cornerstone, or

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whether it shall be a world in which Liberty has been discarded for compulsion".

Four lectures with the general theme of *The Progress of International Government* delivered in 1932 at Yale University by Dr. David Mitrany have been published by the Yale University Press. The subjects of the individual lectures are: International Government in Perspective; Realities of State Equality; The Communal Organization of World Affairs; and Authority in the World of States.

Professor Henri Sée's *Science et philosophie de l'histoire* (Alcan, 1933, pp. 513, 25 fr.), originally published in 1928, and reviewed here (XXXIV. 787), has reached a revised edition.

International Organization (Crofts, 1934, pp. x, 483, $3.50), by Professor Harold M. Vinacke, of the University of Cincinnati, by its emphasis on actual organization and administrative processes, as distinguished from the status of international law or the maneuvers of diplomacy, will enable the reader to see how far the extreme nationalism of the moment jeopardizes the achievements of international coöperation. Extensive references for further study will facilitate inquiry along lines of special interest.

The new volume of *The Book Review Digest* (H. W. Wilson, 1934, pp. 1177), the twenty-ninth of the series, covers the months of March, 1933, to February, 1934. The editors are Marion A. Knight, Mertice M. James, and Dorothy Brown. They report the interesting fact that the number of new books or new editions has diminished ten per cent as compared with 1932 and twenty per cent as compared with 1930.

The Alexander Prize will be awarded by the Royal Historical Society for the best essay on any subject approved by the literary director. Essays must be sent in by March 31, 1935. For further particulars apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 22, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1.

Professor Edith M. Coulter and Dr. Melanie Gerstenfeld are at work on a revision of the former's guide to historical bibliographies, which was issued in 1927 by the University of California Press. The scope of the work is to be greatly enlarged in that the compilers plan to include in the new edition all bibliographies essential to the student in the investigation of a historical period or of a country.

Mr. George H. Hartwig, of Blair, Nebraska (400 West Colfax Street), is preparing for publication a study of the Geneva Version of the English Bible. It is his purpose to include in this study a descriptive list of all English Geneva Bibles preserved in the libraries of the United States, and also all separate editions of the Geneva New Testament. He will be deeply grateful to librarians, and to private owners of such editions, if they will assist this

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project by sending bibliographical descriptions of their editions, beginning with the New Testament of 1557, and the first edition of the complete Geneva Bible, dated 1560.

Dr. Bernard Freyd, of the University of Washington, has completed a translation of Otto von Gierke's masterly treatise on "The development of the theory of the state in terms of natural law with particular reference to Johannes Althusius". Professor Carl J. Friedrich, of Harvard University, will act as sponsor of the publication provided a sufficient number of subscriptions is received. If subscriptions for 500 copies are secured, the price will be $3.00. Subscriptions may be addressed to Professor Friedrich.

Articles: Gustave Mercier, *Essai sur le causalisme historique* (Rev. Synthèse, Feb.); Gilbert Murray, *The Historic Present* [Inaugural Address at the annual meeting of the British Historical Association] (History, Mar.); W. T. Laprade, *The Function of the Historian* (Social Studies, Feb.); Joseph Schrembs, *The Catholic Philosophy of History* (Catholic Hist. Rev., Apr.); Richard Koebner, *Zur Begriffsbildung der Kulturgeschichte* [II.] (Hist. Zeitsch., Dec.); Marc Bloch, *Le salaire et les fluctuations économiques à longue période* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); Hugo Preller, *Möglichkeit und Bedingtheit geschichtlicher Erkenntnis im Gebiet der neuesten Zeit* [apropos of the meeting at Racconigi, Oct. 24, 1909] (Hist. Vierteljahr., Feb.); Lynn Thorndike, *Check-list of Rotographs in the History of Natural and Occult Science* (Isis, Apr.); *Bibliographical Aids to Research: III., Indexes to Periodicals* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Feb.); C. B. Fawcett, *Geographical Factors in the Study of Man* (Science Progress, Apr.); Forrest H. Wells, *The Chinese Mariner's Compass, Charts, and Methods of Navigation* (United States Naval Institute Proc., Mar.).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Another in A. Picard's notable series of manuals is *Manuel d'archéologie romaine,* by R. Cagnat and A. Chapot, in two volumes (pp. 735, 575, with 703 illustrations, 120 fr.).

Among recent bibliographies and collections should be noted a Bulletin papyrologique (1932), by P. Collart, in the *Revue des études grecques* for December; Primary and Recent Secondary Sources for the Study of Roman Law, by E. J. Ursch, in the *Classical Weekly* of May 7 and May 14; De Lacy O'Leary's Bibliography of Christian Egypt, 1931–1932, and M. N. Tod's review of Greek Inscriptions for 1931–1932, both in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* for November.

Among reports of excavations and of new discoveries may be mentioned N. C. Debevoise, The Oriental Institute Report on the Near East, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages,* April; J. D. S. Pendlebury, on the excavations at Tell-el Amarna, 1932–1933, in the *Journal of Egyptian Archae-*

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ology, November; W: F. Albright on Excavations during 1933 in Palestine, Transjordan and Syria, in the *American Journal of Archaeology,* March; A. Roes, on excavations and discoveries in Holland, and A. Grenier on Gallo-Roman archæology in the *Revue des études anciennes* for March.

There are two more articles which bear on the vexed question of early Greek writing: Scripta Helladica and the Dates of Homer and the Hellenic Alphabet, by J. P. Harland, and Inscriptions on Geometric Pottery from Hymettus, by C. W. Blegen, both in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for March.

W. Schadewaldt has an article in *Die Antike,* X., no. 2, on the beginnings of Greek historiography, and M. Gelzer in *Hermes,* LXIX., no. 1, on the beginnings of Roman.

The following studies in ancient law may be noted: A. W. Gomme, Two Problems of Athenian Citizenship Law, in *Classical Philology,* April; L. Wenger, Papyrologische Miscellen, E. Bickermann, Testificatio Actorum, and E. Rabel, Eine neue Vollmachtsurkunde, all in *Aegyptus* for September.

Recent studies in the economic history of the ancient world include W. Schwahn's note on the purchase of houses in Athens in *Hermes,* LXIX., no. 1; Tenney Frank's article on the people of Ostia in the *Classical Journal* for April; A. C. Johnson's notes on Egyptian coinage in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for March; H. C. Youtie on family syntaximon records from Karanis, and C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeats on a sale of hypologos at Tebtunis in *Aegyptus* for September.

Everyday Life in Ancient Greece, by C. E. Robinson (Oxford University Press, 1933), is a pleasing, well-illustrated review in 157 pages of many aspects of Greek life in the Homeric and Classical periods. Life in the Homeric Age, The City State, Democratic Institutions in Athens, Women, Slaves, Trades, Professions, Recreation, Religion, and Education are among the subjects treated. The whole is an admirable supplementary textbook of Ancient history for school use.

Aratus of Sicyon, by F. W. Walbank (Cambridge University Press; New York, Macmillan, $2.75), the Thirlwall prize essay for 1932, is an excellent piece of work in a difficult field. It brings us a fresh and independent view of the involved history of Southern and Central Greece in the late third century B. C., especially of the Achæan League, which was practically a creation of Aratus, and a fresh view of the puzzling character and policies of Aratus himself. The author rightly sees in Aratus the lesser greatness of the man who does not dominate movements but shapes them by identifying himself with them. Aratus united Sicyon with the Achæan League to gain security for his city, but his thought and his loyalty for the federation grew, and its security and autonomy became the motives which dominated the

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tortuous course of his relations with Sparta, Ætolia, Macedon, and more distantly, Egypt. Even the symmachy with Macedon, which was formed to crush the threat from Cleomenes of Sparta, and which involved the surrender of Corinth, and the apparent destruction of much of his life work, was not inconsistent with his character or his policy but merely the means which would best secure the safety and autonomy of the Achæan League. In 215 B. C. he was just as ready to break the symmachy with Macedon for the same purpose. The author has made this, his main thesis, seem plausible. Perhaps more weight should be given to the threat of social revolution as an element which influenced Aratus's choice, and in the final judgment more consideration of the ills which resulted from the continuation of divisions in the Peloponnese. There are also good analyses of particular situations, and a useful discussion of sources and chronology.

Tite-Live by Henri Bornecque (Boivin) contains little which is new, but is a reasonable and well-balanced treatment of the sources, methods, aims, and art of the great Roman historian and literary artist, and brings together the results of a great deal of the scholarly research done since the time of Taine's essay. The book is a useful and convenient general study.

Articles: E. Dhorme, *Où en est le déchiffrement des hiéroglyphes hittites?* (Syria, XIV., no. 4); E. Silberschlag, *The Earliest Record of the Jews in Asia Minor* (Jour. Bibl. Lit., Apr.); A. B. West, *Correspondences between the Delian and Athenian Calendars in the Years 433 and 432 B. C.* (Am. Jour. Arch., Mar.); W. K. Prentice, *The Character of Lysander* (*ibid.*); J. Kromayer, *Die kulturelle und politische Entwickelung des ausgehenden Griechentums* (Hist. Zeitsch., Apr.); Georges Radet, *Alexandre le Grand d'après Ulrich Wilcken* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); E. Kornemann, *Das 'Hellentum' in den Makedonen in Aegypten* (Aegyptus, Sept.); C. Préaux, *Quelques défauts de la politique intérieure de Ptolemée Philadelphe* (*ibid.*); W. Peremans, *De Zeeslag van Kos en de Opstand van Ptolemaios van Ephese, Chronologisch Onderzoek* (Rev. Belge Phil. et Hist., Jan.); M. Rostovtzeff, *Kleinasiatische und syrische Götter in römischen Aegypten* (Aegyptus, Sept.); L. R. Taylor, *New Light on the History of the Saecular Games* (Am. Jour. Phil., Apr.); D. O. Robson, *The Samnites in the Po Valley* (Class. Jour., May); A. Boethius, *Remarks on the Development of Domestic Architecture in Rome* (Am. Jour. Arch., Mar.); A. Klotz, *Geographie und Ethnographie in Caesars Bellum Gallicum* (Rhein. Mus., LXXXIII., no. 1); Gerard Walter, *Brutus ou l'apprentissage d'un tyrannicide* [concl'd] (Rev. Ques. Hist., Mar.); E. Swoboda, *La guerre d'Octave en Illyrie* (L'Acropole, June); A. E. R. Boak, *A Petition to an Exegetes, A. D. 36* (Jour. Egypt. Arch., Nov.); W. M. Ramsay, *Neryllinus* (Class. Rev., Feb.); Denis van Berchem, *Note sur les diplômes honorifiques du IV^e siècle à propos de la table de patronat de Timgad* (Rev. Phil., Apr.); G. de Sanctis, *Ancora sul Padre dell' imperatore Teodosio* (Riv.

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Fil., Mar.); Erich Sander, *Der Verfall der römischen Belagerungskunst* (Hist. Zeitsch., Feb. 28).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: Francesco Cognasso, *Bisanzio: Rassegna degli studi recenti di storia bizantina* [II.] (Riv. Stor. Ital., Oct.); Karl Lampe, *Neuere Schriften über den Deutschen Orden* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Feb.).

Professor Ferdinand Lot's critical study of *Nennius et l'Historia Britonum* is published as the 263d fascicle of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques.* The first section of this volume is devoted to a study of Nennius and his *Historia;* in the second are found the texts of the *Historia.* An index, a glossary, and other supplementary material will be published in a fascicle to appear later.

A work which aims to revise thoroughly, if not to revolutionize, the accepted views in regard to the conversion of Scotland has been published in two volumes by Dr. G. A. Frank Knight. It is entitled *Archaeological Light on the Early Christianizing of Scotland* (Edinburgh, James Clarke, 24*s.*). The author holds that the labors of St. Ninian and other early missionaries had exercised a far more lasting influence than has been believed, and that this facilitated the efforts of St. Columba.

In his *Papsturkunden in Frankreich* (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1933, 16 M.) Hermann Meinert, of the Berlin archives, has resumed the work undertaken before the war by Wilhelm Wiederhold. In his search for papal grants he has examined many libraries and archives of northeastern France, including Mézières, Châlons-sur-Marne, Reims, Troyes, Chaumont, Verdun, Metz, Nancy, and St. Dié.

A cartulary containing a wealth of material and admirably compiled by the archivist Émile Fairon is the *Régestes de la Cité de Liége* (Pub. de la Commission communale de l'hist. de l'ancien pays de Liége, vol. I., Liége, 1933, pp. 572). The present volume contains documents from 1103 to 1389; another is announced for 1935, the whole to be in four volumes.

In the 12th edition of Professor Charles Diehl's *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin* (Picard, 1934, 15 fr.) the bibliography has been brought up to date, and a large number of the plates have been renewed.

Colonel E. J. King, librarian of St. John, has translated from medieval Latin and early French originals the documents which illustrate a critical period in the development of a great military order. The title of the volume is *The Rule, Statutes, and Customs of the Hospitallers* (Methuen, 21*s.*).

A view of medieval medicine in its later phases may be obtained from MS. No. 136 of the Medical Society of London edited, together with a transcrip-

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tion in modern spelling, by Warren R. Dawson, for the Royal Society of Literature. The volume is entitled *A Leechbook or Collection of Medical Recipes of the Fifteenth Century* (Macmillan, 20*s*.).

Articles: Ulrich Kahrstedt, *Die Kelten in der decumates agri* (Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissen. zu Göttingen, 1933, no. 3); *Les 25 conciles tenus en Anjou, 453–1583* (Anjou Hist., Apr.); Elie Griffe, *Les origines chrétiennes de Narbonne* (Rev. Hist. de l'Église de France, Jan.); Léonce Auzias, *L'origine carolingienne des ducs féodaux d'Aquitaine et des rois capétiens* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); Ethel D. Roberts, *Notes on Early Christian Libraries in Rome* (Speculum, Apr.); E. V. Moffett, *A Bulla of Otto III. in America* (*ibid.*); Edgar N. Johnson, *Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen: a Politician of the Eleventh Century* (*ibid.*); S. Harrison Thomson, *Grosseteste's Topical Concordance of the Bible and the Fathers* (*ibid.*); Henry S. Lucas, *Diplomatic Relations of Edward I. and Albert of Austria* (*ibid.*); Lynn Thorndike, *A Mediaeval Sauce-Book* (*ibid.*); A. Sayous, *Les associations de caractère capitaliste à Venise entre le milieu du XI*e *siècle et celui du XII*e*, surtout d'après des documents inédits des archives de l'état de Venise* (Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus, Oct.); Sebastian Euringer, *Drei Beiträge zur Roswitha-Forschung, zum tausendsten Geburtstag der ersten deutschen Dichterin* (Hist. Jahrb., LIV., no. 1); Walther Kienast, *Der anglo-normannische Staat* (*ibid.*); Franz Herberhold, *Die Beziehungen des Cadalus von Parma* (*Gegenpapst Honorius II.*) *zu Deutschland* (*ibid.*); F. M. Henquinet, *Les écrits du frère Guerric de Saint-Quentin, O.P.* (Recherch. de Théol. Anc. et Méd., Apr.); H. Weisweiler, *La "Summa Sententiarum" source de Pierre Lombard* (*ibid.*); G. Barraclough, *The Constitution 'Execrabilis' of Alexander IV.* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Walther Kienast, *Der Kreuzkrieg Philipps des Schönen von Frankreich gegen Aragon* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Feb.); F. M. Powicke, *Pope Boniface VIII.* (History, Mar.); A. P. Usher, *The Origins of Banking: the Primitive Bank of Deposit, 1200–1600* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Apr.); L. Mirot, *La politique française en Italie sous le règne de Charles VI., 1380–1422: Les préliminaires de l'alliance florentine* (Rev. Études Hist., Oct.); Anton Dörrer, *Mittelalterliche Bücherlisten aus Tirol* (Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen, May); J. G. Sikes, *John de Pouilli and Peter de la Palu* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); J. Gay, *Pétrarque et les papes français* (Rev. Hist. Philos. et Hist. Civilisation, Dec.); A. Andréadès, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Jan.).

G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *The Origins of the War* (Jour. Mod. Hist., June).

The title of Professor Arthur H. Noyes's college textbook in recent European history emphasizes one of its aims, *Europe: its History and its World*

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Relationships (Heath, 1934, pp. xv, 698, $3.72). The author has sought also to interpret, rather than to narrate, the events of the period. The proportions of the treatment are good, only two parts out of eight being devoted to the years since 1914.

Dr. Ferdinand Schevill's *The History of the Balkan Peninsula from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Harcourt, Brace, 1933, pp. vii, 614, $5.00), revised with the collaboration of Wesley M. Gewehr, is apparently identical with the first edition except that thirty pages discussing events from 1919 to 1922 have been replaced by seventy-seven pages covering the years 1919 to 1933 in each subdivision of the Balkan peninsula, with a final statement of the problem of a Balkan federation. The last two maps have been replaced by one of the Balkan states after the World War, and another displaying the decline of the Turkish Empire from 1699 to the present. The bibliography to the third part has been enlarged by one-half. The brief account of events since 1922 is clearly and impartially handled, no small achievement considering the complexity of interests and the intensity of nationalist feelings. The concluding pages discussing the possibility of a Balkan federation allow Professor Schevill to emphasize a favorite idea. "Only when, in addition to being good Rumanians, Jugoslavs, Greeks, Bulgars, Albanians, and Turks, they are prepared also to be good Balkanians, will a Balkan federation become a reality capable of bringing the many peninsular conflicts to a settlement without resort to the, under modern conditions, absolutely suicidal agency of war." A. H. L.

Vol. II., of tome IV., *Les armées françaises dans la grande guerre* includes the progress of the struggle for Verdun from May 1 to September 3, 1916, together with the battles on the Somme to the same date. There are three volumes of annexes and a case of maps (Imprimerie Nationale, 635 fr.).

In the volume entitled *The Unanimity Rule and the League of Nations,* Cromwell A. Riches, Ph.D., assistant professor of political science, Goucher College [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science] (Johns Hopkins Press, 1933, pp. xi, 224, $2.25), has very aptly demonstrated that the critic of League polity must study more than the Covenant if he would form a just opinion of the practice of unanimity. The main body of Mr. Riches's study consists in an examination of the practices of the council and the assembly, showing how each body has successfully circumvented the provisions of unanimity by such practices as "abstentions"; by enlarging the scope of "matters of procedure"; and by recommendations instead of formal decisions, etc. If Republican statesmen had not insisted that the unanimity requirement be explicitly stated in the Covenant, the League could have more easily strayed from this provision. The author is of the opinion that the unanimity rule has not been a great handicap to League efficiency and that only a few formal resolutions have been defeated by it,

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although it has forced "meaningless substitutes" and "watered down" resolutions on the League. W. H. R.

Paul Einzig's *The Economic Foundations of Fascism* (London, Macmillan, 1933, pp. xii, 156) is based upon investigations in Italy, including conversations with leading Fascists. The author's conclusions are favorable to the "corporate state" as illustrated by the Mussolini régime, believing that it "contains all the elements of a managed economic system".

While M. N. Pokrovsky's larger *History of Russia* was originally published in Russian before the 1917 Revolution and addressed primarily to the intelligentsia, his *Brief History of Russia* (translated by D. S. Mirsky, 2 vols., New York, International Publishers, 1933, $2.50 each) was written after the victory of the Soviets. Because the Marxian point of view is expounded more clearly in the newer book it is, therefore, more acceptable to the "mass reader" of new Russia, in other words to the proletariat. The narrative has been brought up to 1911. That is a considerable advantage over the only volume of Pokrovsky's larger work published in English (1931). This volume (reviewed in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1933) stops at 1730. G. V.

Count di Robilant, military aid to the Italian embassy in Berlin, frequented the salon of the Princess Radziwill, and after his return to Italy they carried on a copious political correspondence for a quarter of a century. These important letters are now being published in four volumes by Senator Robilant through an Italian house, but in the original French. They are entitled *Lettres de la princesse Radziwill au général de Robilant, 1889–1914: Une grande dame d'avant guerre.* Vol. I. covers the years 1889–1895 (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1933, pp. 287); vol. II., 1896–1901 (pp. 348).

Articles: Konrad Burdach, *Die seelischen und geistigen Quellen der Renaissancebewegung* (Hist. Zeitsch., Feb. 28); Annmarie Wald, *Die Bauernbefreiung und die Ablösung des Obereigentums—eine Befreiung der Herren?* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Feb.); Alfred Schmidtmayer, *Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte des J. A. Comenius* (Mitteil. Vereines f. Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, LXXI., nos. 3–4); R. A. Humphreys, *Lord Shelburne and the Proclamation of 1763* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Albert Pingaud, *Le premier royaume d'Italie* [concl'd] (Rev. Hist. Dipl., Jan.); Harold Temperley, *Stratford de Redcliffe and the Origins of the Crimean War* [II.] (*ibid.*); Friedrich Frahm, *Bismarck vor der Option zwischen Russland und Œsterreich im Herbst 1876* (Hist. Zeitsch., Feb. 28); André É. Sayous, *L'évolution de Strasbourg entre les deux guerres, 1871–1914* (An. Hist. Ec. et Soc., Jan., Mar.); Paul Herre, *Die kleinen Staaten und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges: Die Schweiz* (Berl. Monatsh., Apr.); Helen Byrne Armstrong, *International Socialism: the End of an Era* (Foreign Affairs, Apr.); Lucretia L. Ilsley, *The Administration of Mandates by the British Dominions* (Am. Pol. Sci.

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Rev., Apr.); Arnold J. Toynbee, *Things not foreseen at Paris* [the first of a series of articles, styled "The Future in Retrospect", "which will examine, in the light of experience and later knowledge, some of the problems with which the world was wrestling a few years ago"] (Foreign Affairs, Apr.); Harry N. Howard, *Les États-Unis et la reconnaissance des Soviets, 1917–1933: Histoire d'une politique* (L'Esprit International, Apr.); John Brown Mason, *The Concordat with the Third Reich* (Catholic Hist. Rev., Apr.); H. P. Mead, *The Story of the Semaphore* [III.] (Mariner's Mirror, Apr.); W. Ladejinsky, *Collectivization of Agriculture in the Soviet Union* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Mar., Apr.); Edgar L. Erickson, *The Introduction of East Indian Coolies into the British West Indies* (Jour. Mod. Hist., June); Derwent Whittlesey, *Andorra's Autonomy* (*ibid.*); Lloyd Ross, *The Depression in Australia* (University of Toronto Quar., Apr.).

Documents: G. Mollat, ed., *Les débuts de l'occupation française à Rome en 1849, d'après une correspondance inédite* [*Caillier-Gobineau*] (Rev. Hist. Ecclés., Apr.); P. E. Bordeaux, *La fin de l'affaire de Créte, 1908–1913: Notes et souvenirs* (Rev. Études Hist., Jan.).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Historical Association has issued as Nos. 93 and 94 of its series of Leaflets *Norman London,* an enlarged edition of Professor F. M. Stenton's essay first printed in 1915. This is accompanied by a translation, by Professor H. E. Butler, of William FitzStephen's "Description", and is provided with a map of London under Henry II. by Marjorie B. Honeybourne, annotated by E. Jeffries Davis. The publisher is Bell, and the price 2*s.* 6*d.*

A French translation of one of the four chief Anglo-Saxon Chronicles has been made by Marie Hoffmann-Hirtz (*Une chronique anglo-saxonne traduite d'après le manuscrit 173 de Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,* Strasbourg, Librairie Universitaire d'Alsace, 1933, pp. 173). This chronicle, the oldest of the four, is valuable not only because it includes two groups of annals not in the others but also because of its literary superiority. The translator states that the point of departure for her work was Charles Plummer's *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel.* E. D. S.

The Annals of Inisfallen, reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript, with a descriptive introduction by R. I. Best and Eóin MacNeill, and published by the Royal Irish Academy (Williams and Norgate, 42*s.*) offers both a source of early Irish history and an example of the development of writing in Ireland. The later script represents, however, a deterioration, brought about apparently by the confusion which followed the Anglo-Norman invasion.

A work of importance for local history is *The Parish of Kirkby Malham-*

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dale in the West Riding of Yorkshire, by John William Morkill (Gloucester, Bellows, 25*s.*). The author has drawn upon many hitherto unused documents to illustrate manorial life. Grants to such monasteries as Fountains Abbey and Bolton Priory are also utilized. The Yorkshire Archaeological Society as Volume LXXXVII. of its Record series has published *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Sallay in Craven,* edited by Joseph McNulty.

A historical problem of deep interest is studied competently in *The Reformation and the Contemplative Life: a Study of the Conflict between the Carthusians and the State* (Sheed and Ward, 7*s.* 6*d.*), by David Mathew and Gervase Mathew.

Later Tudor and Stuart Geography, by E. G. R. Taylor (Bell), is a sequel to the same author's *Tudor Geography, 1485–1583.* It includes the period of Camden's *Britannia* and of Hakluyt and Purchas.

Miss E. M. G. Routh's *Sir Thomas More and his Friends, 1477–1535* (Oxford University Press), illustrates by quotations from letters her subject's relations with such men as Erasmus, Colet, Grocyn, Linacre, Lyly, Fisher, and others. She tends to neglect More's political career and to emphasize other aspects of his life.

In *Town Government in the Sixteenth Century* (Allen and Unwin, 8*s.* 6*d.*) J. H. Thomas has drawn upon the records of twelve English towns to emphasize the progressive character of English urban administration whatever may be said of their constitutional development. The facts which he brings out in regard to the care of the public health are of special interest.

Henry S. Eeles in *Lord Chancellor Camden and his Family* (Philip Allan, 12*s.* 6*d.*) attempts a type of study which, in plan if not in execution, promises to throw considerable light on the methods by which England was ruled in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Sir John Pratt, lord chief justice of the King's Bench, was born in 1657; the first Marquess of Camden, son of the lord chancellor, died in 1840. A study of these three generations of Pratts and of the contemporary alliances of the family helps toward an understanding of the composition and the recruiting of the ruling class.

Dr. B. C. Nangle in *The Monthly Review, First Series, 1749–1789: Indexes of Contributors and Articles* (Clarendon Press) has provided a reference book useful to students of the social and literary history of those years.

Vol. XII. of the Dugdale Society Publications (Milford, 35*s.*) is the third volume of the *Records of King Edward's School, Birmingham,* with which Dugdale was at one time connected. The documents in the volume supplement the scattering records for the study of the history of Birmingham in the

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seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The editing is by W. F. Carter and E. A. Barnard.

John Paget's *The New Examen* with a critical introduction by the Right Honorable Winston S. Churchill (Haworth Press) is reprinted to buttress similar criticisms of Macaulay in Mr. Churchill's *Life of Marlborough*.

Richard Trevethick, the Engineer and the Man, by H. W. Dickinson and Arthur Tilley (Cambridge University Press), is a centenary memorial biography in honor of the death of the great engineer.

Much of interest for eighteenth century history is to be found in the fourth volume of *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, 1714–1750*, edited for the Masters of the Bench by R. A. Roberts (Barber, 21*s*). The first three volumes were published over thirty years ago.

A substantial addition has been made to a notable source of impressions of early nineteenth century England in *Creevey's Life and Times: a Further Selection from the Correspondence of Thomas Creevey,* edited by John Gore (Murray, 18*s*.).

In an article entitled New Light on Charles Masson, published in *The Indian Antiquary* of Bombay last December, Mr. Frank E. Ross has shown that Masson, the explorer and antiquary, was not a native of Kentucky as he had claimed, but that his real name was James Lewis, that he deserted from the British army in India on July 4, 1826, took the name of Charles Masson, and began his long and distinguished career of archæological investigation and antiquarian research in Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

Additional light upon a much discussed theme is given by W. O. Henderson's *The Lancashire Cotton Famine* (Manchester University Press, 8*s*. 6*d*.). The author points out that one cause of the crisis was over-production in the boom years of 1859 and 1860. His treatment of the subject of relief is also of special interest.

Dr. J. L. Morison's *Lawrence of Lucknow* (Bell, 15*s*.) is a competent biography of Henry Lawrence whose career illustrates the adventures incidental to the rise of British dominion in India and is made memorable by its end in the Mutiny at Lucknow.

The first volume of Dr. Christopher Addison's *Four and a Half Years: a Personal Diary from June, 1914, to January, 1919* (Hutchinson) covers the period 1914–1916. It is an account of the war years from the point of view of a member of the British ministry with an outlook different from that of the more orthodox type of political leader.

T. P. O'Connor by Hamilton Fyfe (Allen and Unwin) is a sympathetic biography of a well-known controversial journalist who lived to become an institution and dean of the House of Commons. Since he knew most of the

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men who counted among members of the British ruling class in his time students of history will naturally find items of interest in his life.

Among recent publications by H. M. Stationery Office are: *Calendar of the Close Rolls,* prepared under the superintendence of the deputy keeper of the records, *Henry VI.,* vol. I., 1422–1429; vol. II., 1429–1435 (42*s.*, 30*s.*); *Calendar of Fine Rolls,* vol. XIV., *Henry V.,* 1413–1422 (35*s.*); *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters,* vol. XII., 1458–1471, edited by J. A. Twemlow (45*s.*).

Articles: T. A. M. Bishop, *Monastic Demesnes and the Statute of Mortmain* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Nora Kenyon, *Labour Conditions in Essex in the reign of Richard II.* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Apr.); H. G. Richardson, G. O. Sayles, *Parliamentary Documents from Formularies* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Feb.); O. A. Johnsen, *L'acte de navigation anglais du 9 octobre 1651* (Rev. Hist. Mod., Jan.); Carl Coditz, *Milton, Lilburne, and the People* (Modern Philology, Feb.); R. S. Crane, *Anglican Apologetics and the Idea of Progress, 1699–1745* (*ibid.*); Alan Dugald, *English Circulating Libraries, 1725–1750* (Library, Mar.); Edward G. Fletcher, *Some Notes on Defoe's Review* (Notes and Queries, Mar.); C. E. Burch, *Defoe's British Reputation, 1869–1894* (Eng. Studien, LXVIII., no. 3); W. C. Walker, *The Beginnings of the Scientific Career of Joseph Priestley* (Isis, Apr.); C. R. Fay, *Adam Smith, America, and the Doctrinal Defeat of the Mercantile System* (Quar. Jour. Ec., Feb.); A. M. Sheffield, *In Defence of Man* [Rear Admiral Robert] (Mariner's Mirror, Apr.); *Some Foreign Impressions of London, 1700–1801* [from diaries and other comments of Continental travelers] (The Times, Lit. Suppl., Mar. 29); Curtis Nettels, *The Origin of Paper Money in the English Colonies* (Ec. Hist., Jan.); R. D. Richards, *The Lottery in the History of English Government Finance* (*ibid.*); F. T. H. Fletcher, *Influence of Montesquieu on English Political Economists* (*ibid.*); S. E. Thomas, *The First English Provincial Banks* (*ibid.*); A. S. J. Baster, *Origins of British Exchange Banks in China* (*ibid.*); B. Ellinger, *The Cotton Famine of 1861–4* (*ibid.*); E. Jones-Parry, *Under-Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, 1782–1855* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Erwin F. Meyer, *The Constitutional Law of the British Commonwealth* (University of Colorado Stud., Mar.); J. E. Lloyd, *Carmarthenshire Notes* (Bull. Board of Celtic Stud., Nov.); Th. M. Chotzen, *Welsh History in the Continuation of the 'Spiegel Historiael' by Lodewijk van Velthem* (*ibid.*).

FRANCE

The *Histoire des colonies françaises,* edited by Gabriel Hanotaux and Alfred Martineau, has been completed by the publication of vol. VI., Madagascar, Les Iles Bourbon et de France, La Pacifique français, Les Français dans l'Afrique du sud, Conclusion générale (Plon, 150 fr.). The third volume of M. Martineau's edition of the *Mémoires de François Martin, fonda-*

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teur de Pondicherry, has also appeared (Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes, et Coloniales, 75 fr.).

The Société de l'histoire de l'Inde français has issued vol. IV. of its *Catalogue des manuscrits des anciennes Archives de l'Inde française, Karikal, 1739–1815.* Another volume of interest to the students of French colonization is *Correspondance du Conseil supérieur de Bourbon et de la Compagnie des Indes, 10 mars, 1732–23 janvier, 1736,* edited by Albert Laugnon. Both volumes are published by Leroux.

Raoul Patry has made a useful contribution to the history of ideas and to the policy of the French Calvinists in his biography of *Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, un Huguenot homme d'état, 1549–1623* (Fischbacher, 1933, pp. 670).

An article by the late Pierre de La Gorce, entitled Un grand évêque en un grand diocèse, le Cardinal Régnier, appears in the March *Revue des questions historiques.* The same number contains an appreciation of La Gorce's career by the Marquis de Roux.

Evidence of the beauty of eighteenth century tapestry weaving is given in *François Boucher and the Beauvais Tapestries,* by Maurice Block (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933, pp. 39). The illustrations are from the tapestries in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery and give examples of the first series of Boucher's designs, Italian Village Scenes, and of the last, The Noble Pastoral. There is included with the descriptions of these tapestries a brief account of the development of the Beauvais factory, of Boucher's life and work, and of tapestry weaving in general. It is of interest that "except for a single interruption of one year the Beauvais factory has continued working to the present day". E. D. S.

To the series entitled Bibliothèque historique the Librairie Plon has added popular editions of *Le duc de Lauzun,* by Gaston Maugras, and *L'Europe et la fondation de l'Empire français de Cadoudal à Austerlitz,* by Albert Sorel, each volume, 15 fr. Sorel's treatment is taken from his *L'Europe et la Révolution française.* The pages in which Pierre de La Gorce described the Terror and its effects upon the French Church, taken from vol. III. of his *Histoire religieuse de la Révolution française,* constitute another volume of the series under the title *Martyrs et apostats sous la Terreur, 1793–1794.*

An important contribution is made to the history of the Terror by Louis Jacob in his *Joseph Le Bon* (2 vols., Mellottée, 1933, pp. 351, 386). The subtitle, *La Terreur à la frontière* suggests the line of defense which the author adopts in endeavoring to save Le Bon from continuing to be bracketed with proconsuls like Carrier. He does not give the full history of the frontier phase of the Terror, but deals only with those acts for which Le Bon was personally responsible. As the work is based upon a more careful exami-

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nation of all the evidence than was made by his predecessors, it becomes indispensable in the study of the subject.

In his *Bourmont, 1773–1846* (Plon, 1934, pp. iii, 282, 16 fr. 50) Henry d'Estre has written an excellent, though brief, life of one of the most misunderstood figures of the Bourbon Restoration. He has had access to material not available to Houssaye, and his account of Bourmont's rôle in the Waterloo Campaign is better than anything now in print. F. B. A.

Articles: Auguste Humbert, *Didier Guillemin, imprimeur à Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, 1559* (An. l'Est, 1934, no. 1); Maurice Casenave, *La souveraineté de Béarn et le royaume de France* (Rev. Hist. Dipl., Jan.); Fidao-Justiniani, *La prudence du cardinal de Richelieu* (Rev. Études Hist., Jan.); André Gain, *L'enseignement supérieur à Nancy de 1789 à 1896* [concl'd] (An. l'Est, 1934, no. 1); Georges Lefebvre, *Foules révolutionnaires* (An. Hist. Rév. Fr., Jan.); Paul Nicolle, *Les meutres politiques d'août-septembre, 1792, dans le département de l'Orne* [I.] (*ibid.*); Alfred Chabaud, *Barbaroux physicien* (*ibid.*); *Robert Schnerb, La dépression économique sous le Directoire* (*ibid.*); Marquis d'Aragon, *Le duc Decazes et les dix dernières années de la Restauration* (Rev. Ques. Hist., Mar.); Louis Mazoyer, *Rénovation intellectuelle et problèmes sociaux: La bourgeoisie du Gard et l'instruction au début de la Monarchie de Juillet* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc., Jan.).

Documents: G. Lefebvre, ed., *Documents sur la Grande Peur de 1789 dans la région parisienne* (An. Hist. Rév. Fr., Mar.); Geoffrey Bruun, ed., *Three Letters of Saint-Just* (Jour. Mod. Hist., June); R. Durand, ed., *Le monopole universitaire et la concurrence ecclésiastique dans les Côtes-du-Nord sous le premier Empire* (Rev. Hist. Mod., Jan.); Prosper de Barante, *Notes du comte Armand de Saint-Priest sur le séjour du roi Louis XVIII. à Mittau* [second son of the minister of Louis XVI.] (Rev. Hist. Dipl., Jan.).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: Heinz Zatschek, *Bericht über die Neuerscheinungen auf dem Gebiet der Urkundenlehre 1931* (Mitteil. des Œsterr. Inst. f. Geschichtsf., XLVII., nos. 2, 3); Charles Gilliard and Henri Meylan, *Histoire de Suisse: Publications des années 1926 à 1931* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); Hans Knudsen, *Neue Geschichtsliteratur* [modern German] (Preuss. Jahrb., Apr.).

In commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the siege of Vienna by the Turks, Ferdinand Stöller has compiled a volume of *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Türkenjahres 1683* (Mitteil. des Œsterr. Inst. f. Geschichtsf., vol. XIII., suppl., Innsbruck, Wagner, 1933, pp. 138). Among the most interesting is a "Réponse d'un officier de l'armée de l'empereur à un général espagnol, contenant le détail des actions de la campagne de 1683".

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Vol. XXXII. of the *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* (Basel, Verlag der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft, 1933, pp. 304, xiv) is made up for the most part of the correspondence between Georg von Wyss and Andreas Heusler-Ryhiner running over the years from 1843 to 1867. It is edited by Eduard His of Basel, and is intended to supplement his previously published correspondence of Philip Anton v. Segesser of Lucerne and Heusler, illustrating the development of Zurich as that did of Lucerne. It is mainly concerned with the struggle between the liberals or radicals, the leader of whom was Alfred Escher, and the conservatives, supported by the rural democracy. Wyss was a conservative and the successes of the liberals eventually broke off his official career. He then devoted himself to historical studies. One of his most important works was a history of the Abbey of Zurich. This correspondence occasionally records echoes of the greater conflicts outside Switzerland, and the names of Napoleon III., Bismarck, and Francis Joseph appear, although only at rare intervals.

The Germans are more than ever interested in their historical relations with the Slavs on their eastern borders. The territory beyond the Elbe became for the medieval German a field of colonial expansion. Eventually hatred on the one side and contempt on the other found expression in the utterances of the clergy and the records of the chroniclers. This is the subject of a small volume by Erich Maschke entitled *Das Erwachen des Nationalbewusstseins im deutschslavischen Grenzraum* (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichsche Buchhandlung, 1933, 1.50 M.).

Articles: Konrad Josef Heilig, *Leopold Stainreuter von Wien, der Verfasser der sogenannten oesterreichischen Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften: Ein Beitrag zur oesterreichischen Historiographie* (Mitteil. des. Œsterr. Inst. f. Geschichtsf., XLVII., nos. 2, 3); Werner Lahne, *Tillys Niederlage bei Breitenfeld in der zeitgenössischen Karikatur und Satire* (Thüring.-Sächs. Zeitsch. f. Gesch. und Kunst, XXI., nos. 1, 2); Walter Stietzel, *Der magdeburger Handel in den Tagen der Kontinentalsperre* (*ibid.*); Eugen Lemberg, *Die historische Ideologie von Palacký und Masaryk und ihre Bedeutung für die moderne nationale Bewegung* (Hist. Jahrb., LIII., no. 4); Graf Westarp, *Aus meinen Erinnerungen: Revolution von Unten im letzten Jahrzehnt des Kaiserreiches* (Preuss. Jahrb., Dec., Jan.); Otto Stolz, *Die Landstandschaft der Bauern in Tirol* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Feb.).

Documents: T. Wotschke, ed., *Wolffs Briefe über seinen Streit mit den hallischen Pietisten* [the philosopher Christian Wolff, 1724–1727] (Thüring.-Sächs. Zeitsch. f. Gesch. und Kunst, XXI., nos. 1, 2); Paul Molisch, ed., *Briefe des Abgeordneten Dr. Johann von Perthaler aus der Paulskirche* [1849] (Mitteil. des Œsterr. Inst. f. Geschichtsf., XLVII., nos. 2, 3); E. W. Pavenstedt, *A Conversation with Bismarck* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Mar.).

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ITALY AND SPAIN

General review: Gennaro Maria Monti, *Les Angevins de Naples dans les études du dernier demi-siècle* (Rev. Ques. Hist., Jan.).

In honor of the distinguished scholar Luzio, a formidable array of documentary studies has been presented under the title *Ad Alessandro Luzio, gli archivi di stato italiani: Miscellanea di studi storici* (Florence, Le Monnier, 1933, 2 vols., 431, 442). All of the sixty-one contributors are archivists or ex-archivists.

Vol. LXI. of *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* is a collection of *Miscellanea storica,* including among others Un giornale della Repubblica Ligure: Il redattore italiano e le sue vicende [1799–1800] by Vito Vitale, and L'arte dei Corallieri nell'ordinamento delle corporazioni genovesi [15th–18th centuries] by Onorato Pàstine (Genoa, pp. 453). Vol. LXII. is an elaborately documented monograph by Pietro Nurra on *La coalizione europea contro la Repubblica di Genova, 1793–1796* (*ibid.*, pp. 293). Vol. LX., fasc. 2, is Gaetano Pappaianni's historical survey of *Massa ed il suo Archivio di stato* (1934, pp. 112).

The abortive projects of Pius IX. for a reunion of Italy in 1847 had at least a temporary sequel in a concordat between Tuscany and the Holy See. The history of this document, negotiated in 1851, is presented by Anton Maria Bettanini in *Il Concordato di Toscana* (Milan, Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero", 1933, pp. v, 200).

Gustavo Sacerdote is the author of a new *Vita di Giuseppe Garibaldi secondo il risultate delle più recenti indagini storiche con numerosi documenti inediti* (Rizzoli, 1933). There are six colored plates and 1300 illustrations gathered from archives and museums in Italy and South America.

Articles: Francesco De Stefano, *La soluzione della questione siciliana, 1372* (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Orientale, XXIX., no. 1); Giuseppe Agnello, *Giovanni Torres Osorio, vescovo ed umanista* [1564–1632] (*ibid.*, nos. 2, 3); Maria Damarco, *Guglielmo I. Paleologo, marchese di Monferrato, 1420–1483* (Riv. Stor., Arte e Arch. per la Provincia di Alessandria, July); Giuseppe Castellani, *I primi tentativi per l'introduzione dei Gesuiti a Milano, 1545–1559* (Arch. Hist. Soc. Iesu, Jan.); Hans Spanke, *Zur Geschichte der spanischen Musik des Mittelalters* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Feb.); Albert Girard, *Les étrangers dans la vie économique de l'Espagne aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc., Nov.); Carlo Morandi, *Studi su la Grande Alleanza e su la Guerra di Successione spagnuola* [I.], *I rapporti Anglo-Olandesi* (Riv. Stor. Ital., Oct.); Annibale Alberti, *La teorica di Metternich sull' intervento al Congresso di Troppau* (Rassegna Stor. del Risorgimento, Jan.); Silvio Pivano, *Un progetto inedito di costituzione in Piemonte nel 1821* (*ibid.*); Maria Avetta, *Studi cavouriani* [I.], *Una "Vexata quaestio" alla luce*

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dei carteggi cavouriani [the Lacaita episode, 1860] (*ibid.*); G. A. Malladra, *La Battaglia di Adua* [I., concl.], (N. Antol., Nov. 16); Paolo Mattei-Gentili, *Papa Lambertini* [Benedict XIV.] (*ibid.*, Feb. 16).

Documents: G. Ponte, ed., *Frammenti di storia del Piemonte* (Riv. Stor., Arte e Arch. per la Provincia di Alessandria, July); Cesare Maria de Vecchi di Val Cismon, ed., *Dai "Ricordi diplomatici" di Costantino Nigra* [1867–1869] (N. Antol., Jan. 16); Ermanno Loevinson, ed., *I fratelli fabrizi e la legazione pontificia di Bologna* (Rassegna Stor. del Risorgimento, Jan.); Ruggero Moscati, ed., *Per le fonti della storia del 1799 in provincia di Salerno* (*ibid.*).

E. N. C.

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: thirty papers of James Moore, speaker of the Assembly of South Carolina (mainly drafts of messages to the governor), 1721; photostat of diary of Samuel Fisher kept during operations around Lake George, 1758; statement of accounts of Kender Mason with British government, relating to provisions for East Florida, 1778 to 1780; journal of William Alexander (called Lord Stirling), 1779; Dr. Alexander Bruce, "An Enquiry . . . Destruction of Mankind in War", *ca.* 1781; fifty-seven papers of, or relating to, James Madison and Dolly Payne Madison, 1779 to 1852; papers relating to the Yazoo land grants of Georgia, 1790 to 1815 (46 pieces); five papers of Lieutenant William H. Allen, 1793–1807 (*Chesapeake* and *Leopard*); several papers of David Porter, David D. Porter, and William D. Porter, 1814 to 1865; photostat of record book of Hopeton Plantation (North Carolina), 1818–1841; photostat of memoranda of James Monroe, 1825 and undated; copies of journals of George T. Allan, covering journeys in the Northwest, 1841, and the Sandwich Islands, 1848; account book of Jacob Gideon kept during the 29th and 30th Congresses, 1845–1849; one hundred and three papers relating to invention and manufacture of firearms, by Edward Maynard, 1845 to 1858; copies of papers of Isaac Draper, jr., William Draper, and William Preston, 1847 to 1863; thirty-three additional papers of, or relating to, Crawford W. Long, 1849 to 1930; seventy-five papers of Rutherford B. Hayes, 1856 to 1891; fifty-three letters, mainly from Captain Wilson Barstow to his sister, Elizabeth Barstow Stoddard (Mrs. Richard Stoddard), 1861 to 1869; Civil War letters from Charles C. Enslow to his wife (photostats); photocopy of journal kept during the last march of Jefferson Davis by Captain Given Campbell, April 15–May 10, 1865; scrapbook of letters, newspaper clippings, etc., relating to assassination of Abraham Lincoln, etc., compiled by George Alfred Townsend, dated 1865 to 1899; autobiography of Margaret O'Neale Eaton (Mrs. John H. Eaton),

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dictated in 1873; additional papers of Benjamin Harrison, 1893 to 1900; letters from Colonel Paul H. Clark (representative of General Pershing with the French army in the field) to General John J. Pershing, 1918–1919; the papers of Charles Evans Hughes; additional photostats of letters of George Washington.

The Agricultural History Society held its sixteenth annual meeting on May 14 in Washington with eighty in attendance. Professor Edwin F. Gay of Harvard University was elected president, Mr. Clifford V. Gregory of Chicago, editor of *Prairie Farmer,* vice president; Dr. O. C. Stine of the Department of Agriculture, secretary-treasurer of the society since its founding, was reëlected, and Professor Kathleen Bruce of Hollins College and Professor Frederick Merk of Harvard University were elected to the executive committee. Dr. Dumas Malone, editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography,* presented a memorial to "Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, Historian", and the retiring president, Professor Louis Bernard Schmidt of Iowa State College, delivered an address on "The Agricultural Revolution in the Prairies and the Great Plains of the United States". Both papers will be printed in *Agricultural History.*

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, vol. XXVIII., Part I., opens with an article by Professor Verner W. Crane on Certain Writings of Benjamin Franklin on the British Empire and the American Colonies. Here are described critical inquiries as a result of which various unsigned articles and pamphlets have been identified as of Franklin's authorship. Many more are likely to be added to the list before Professor Crane's work is completed. The rôle of Franklin as a propagandist will be greatly enhanced. A new edition of Franklin's writings will probably be another consequence. Part I. also includes an essay on James Adams: the First Printer of Delaware, by Dorothy Lawson Hawkins, and one on the *"Gazette Françoise",* Newport, R. I., 1780–1781, by Allen J. Barthold.

American Constitutional History (W. W. Norton, 1933, pp. xi, $3.50), by Erik McKinley Eriksson, associate professor of history, University of Southern California, and David Nelson Rowe, of the University of Chicago, is planned upon the belief that the characteristics of the constitution will be best understood if the background of American history during each period of significant change is explained to the student. The treatment therefore opens with a chapter on The Beginning of English Governmental Experiments in America. The ninth chapter is the first to take up the constitution itself. The final chapter deals with the Constitution in Time of War. The bibliographical lists are at the close of each chapter.

The author of *Lafayette in America Day by Day* (Baltimore, The John Hopkins Press, 1934, pp. x, 324, $2.75), Mr. J. Bennett Nolan, was first

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prompted to this work by the need of a record of Lafayette's visits to individual towns and cities in America if a nation-wide commemoration of the centenary of his death was to be carried out by the Society of the American Friends of Lafayette. The plan developed as the work progressed until a useful instrument of historical study is the result. Mr. Nolan has sought in official documents, in letters, in newspapers, and in other sources evidence of the exact date of Lafayette's visit to or sojourn in a particular place. He has had the happy thought of adding something that was said, written, or printed on the occasion. One curious entry in the *Virginia Herald,* apropos of a visit to Fredericksburg in November, 1824, said that "Owners of slaves are respectfully solicited to keep their slaves within their lots", a thoughtful attention to the susceptibilities of a man heralded in two continents as the champion of liberty. Besides his two stays during the Revolutionary War, Lafayette was here twice in time of peace, in 1784, from August to December, and from August, 1824, to September, 1825. It is astonishing the number of places he traveled through and the persons he met. These contacts make the book fascinating. It is handsomely printed as are all the publications of the Institut Français de Washington.

The reader of *The Reminiscences of William C. Preston* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1933, pp. xi, 138, $3.00) is inclined to agree with the editor, Dr. Minnie Clare Yarborough, that it would have been fortunate if the author had not broken off with his Continental travels and had said something of his student days in Edinburgh. Indeed, it would have been still more fortunate had his diary of his European experiences been more detailed and his recollections, based on the diary, more extensive. His family connections offered him unusual opportunities in life. Mrs. Madison treated him as a son, and he was "domesticated" in the President's house shortly after his graduation from college. He naturally had good introductions abroad. He comments with discrimination upon the men he met in Paris during the Restoration period, especially upon the Duc de Richelieu, Pozzo di Borgo, and Étienne Dumont. In Italy the great masterpieces of art, like the Apollo Belvedere, "stunned and overwhelmed" him. In reading this little book one is reminded of earlier pages of the *Life, Letters, and Journals* of George Ticknor, another young American who visited Europe during the same period.

In a volume entitled *Bare Hands and Stone Walls: Some Recollections of a Side-Line Reformer* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933, pp. x, 441, $3.00), Charles Edward Russell offers the testimony of his experience to the evils which, as a Socialist, he believes to have characterized this country's history for the past fifty years. He was first made conscious of the machinations of the money power when as an Iowa boy he heard of the miseries of the Iowa farmer. It is curious that at the same time the New England farmer, whom

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the mid-Western farmer had already driven out of the corn and wheat market, still managed to be fairly happy amid his stony hillsides. From his Iowa boyhood on Mr. Russell, with generous enthusiasms, espoused nearly all the lost causes of the period. He was, however, managing editor of the New York *American* when that journal was calling aloud for war with Spain, which was not precisely a lost cause. He does not approve of our management of the resulting annexations, for he remarks that "the noblest example of our neat union of banditry and piety is to be found in our record in the Philippines". Altogether, this is a book which may cause the contented bourgeois, if there is one left, some heartsearchings.

In the little brochure by F. W. v. Prittwitz u. Gaffron, entitled *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten seit dem Weltkrieg* (Leipzig, 1934, pp. 34), the former German ambassador to Washington treats the restoration of friendly relations between the United States and Germany after 1918. Frankly recognizing Wilsonian idealism as the driving force for America's war efforts, Von Prittwitz discusses, as factors in the liquidation of the war, America's disillusionment with her Allies, her wise and fair attitude on questions of war guilt, reparations and private debts, and the coöperation of the United States and Germany in problems of world politics before 1933. With understanding and frankness the former ambassador describes the economic and cultural bonds contributing to the German-American *rapprochement*. For the present, at least, Hitlerism seems to have written finis to the story, but this suggestion, the former ambassador has wisely left to others to point out. C. W.

Articles: David Rankin Barbee, *Hinton Rowan Helper's Mendacity* (Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Apr.); Dorothy Perkins, *William H. Seward* (New York Hist., Apr.); Henry Clyde Hubbart, *Revisionist Interpretations of Stephen A. Douglas and Popular Sovereignty* (Social Stud., Mar.); George D. Harmon, *The Indian Trust Funds, 1798–1865* (Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev., June); John D. P. Fuller, *The Slavery Question and the Movement to acquire Mexico* (*ibid.*); Jonas Viles, *Sections and Sectionalism in a Border State* (*ibid.*); Francis P. Weisenburger, *The Time of Mark Hanna's First Acquaintance with McKinley* (*ibid.*); J. A. Bailey, *The Lodge Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine* (Pol. Sci. Quar., June); Frank E. Ross, *An American Adventurer in Central Asia* [Josiah Harlan of Pennsylvania] (Jour. Indian Hist., Dec.).

THE NORTH ATLANTIC COLONIES AND STATES

Three chapters of the doctoral dissertation of Harvey Putnam Prentiss, *Timothy Pickering as the Leader of New England Federalism, 1800–1815*, originally appearing in the Essex Institute Historical Collections of January and April, 1933, and April, 1934, have been reprinted in a pamphlet under

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the above title by Northwestern University. They concern Pickering's plans for the Federalist Party, 1801–1804, his opposition to the Embargo, and his defeatist leadership during the War of 1812, depicting him as the apostle of nullification and the advocate of secession. The work is based largely on Pickering's manuscript papers, on printed memoirs, and the public prints of the time, but apparently overlooks Brown's important work on the Northern Confederacy. S. F. B.

The New York State Historical Association has added to its archives at Ticonderoga more than one hundred manuscript volumes of letter books, ledgers, account books, etc., of the firm of Gaylord and Bascom of Whitehall, N. Y. These records pertain to shipping on Lake Champlain and the Champlain Canal between 1825 and 1875. Other acquisitions are: a bound file of *The Westport* (N. Y.) *Patriot and Essex County Advertiser,* Nov. 19, 1846–Feb. 3, 1848; *The Westport Patriot,* July 27, 1848–Dec. 7, 1848, and *The Essex County Reporter,* Jan. 4, 1849–Aug. 16, 1849 (all bound in a single volume); *The Elizabethtown* (N. Y.) *Post,* May 4, 1860–Sept. 29, 1870; *The Elizabethtown Post and Gazette,* Jan. 2, 1879–Dec. 29, 1893, and Jan. 7, 1897–Dec. 14, 1899; twenty-one manuscript diaries and six scrapbooks of John E. Milholland (1860–1925) covering the years 1900 to 1925 when he was active in business and public affairs in the United States and in England. The 35th Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at Chautauqua, N. Y., on August 23–25. J. P. B.

The Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York has published under the title of *William the Silent* a record commemorative of the celebration in 1933 of the Four Hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Prince of Orange. The editor is Dr. Edgar Franklin Romig. It is appropriately illustrated and beautifully printed.

The Rise of Pennsylvania Protectionism, by Malcolm Rogers Eiselen (Philadelphia, 1932, privately printed, pp. 287), is a clearly written, well-documented monograph, presenting a brief survey of the period 1683 to 1815 and then discussing in detail the years up to 1861, when protection became established as a national policy. No state contributed more to this victory than did Pennsylvania. The author's excellent discussion of the voluminous writings of Mathew Carey and Henry C. Carey demonstrates that in the history of this movement these intellectuals deserve equal consideration with such statesmen as Henry Clay. No men labored more effectively than they in laying the foundation of ideas and theories upon which Clay and his followers built their majorities in Congress. The statement that Henry C. Carey was little influenced by List is still debatable. A closer personal relation between coal rents and ironmaster's profits to the success or failure of statesmen in elections, and to the way in which they voted on tariff bills, could perhaps be shown by further search for "confidential" documents

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among private papers. This sordid side of the story has not, however, been entirely neglected. Few publisher's errors occur, though page 155 is out of order and "Morrill" is not always spelled correctly. The omission of an index from a study otherwise so thorough is unfortunate. The interesting evidence presented (p. 267 ff.) to show that "infant" industries had little influence on tariff making will be new to many readers. Only after surviving infancy and youth could new industries make their voice heard and then they argued that they could not live without a high tariff. The closing chapter is especially well done. A. T. V.

Articles: *Catalogue of Portraits in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts* (Essex Institute Hist. Coll., Apr.); Samuel E. Morison, Astronomy at Colonial Harvard (New England Quar., Mar.); Harold F. Wilson, *Population Trends in Northwestern New England, 1790–1930* (Geograph. Rev., Apr.); William G. Bean, *Puritan versus Celt, 1850–1860* (New England Quar., Mar.); William B. Norton, *Paper Currency in Massachusetts during the Revolution* (*ibid.*); Milledge L. Bonham, jr., *New York and the Election of 1860* (New York Hist., Apr.); William Nelson, *The History of the Counties of New Jersey* (Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc., Apr.); Cornelius C. Vermeule, *The Active Loyalists of New Jersey* (*ibid.*); Ernest Spofford, *Some of the Manuscript Resources of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania Hist., Apr.); J. Paul Gelsam, *The Survey of Manuscript Source Material in Pennsylvania* (*ibid.*); John J. Meng, *Philadelphia welcomes America's First Foreign Representative* (Rec. American Catholic Hist. Soc., Mar.); Rev. Francis E. Tourscher, O. S. A., *Old Saint Augustine in Philadelphia and its Mission,* III. (*ibid.*); Louis F. Middlebrook, *The Ship Mary of Philadelphia, 1740* (Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog., Apr.); John W. Oliver, *Matthew Stanley Quay* (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., Mar.).

Documents: *Another Journal of Early Haverford* (Quakeriana Notes, spring); Raymond C. Werner, ed., *Diary of Grace Growden Galloway, July 1 to September 30, 1779* (Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog., Apr.); James M. Miller, ed., *The Narrative of a Pioneer Preacher: George M. Scott* (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., Mar.).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Economic History of the South, by Emory Q. Hawk, professor of economics, Birmingham-Southern College (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1934, pp. xvii, 557, $5.00), is in form a factual summary, but of necessity there has been a selection of facts, and a certain amount of interpretation is implicit or explicit at various points of the text. The picture of Reconstruction is wholly black; Allan Nevins's *Emergence of Modern America,* which was perhaps the first authoritative book to shift the old emphasis on misfortune, is neither cited nor listed in the bibliographies; Simkins and Woody's *South*

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Carolina during Reconstruction is listed, but its revision of the Reconstruction picture is not drawn upon. Dr. Hawk properly cites Edwin Mims as an example of the South's growing liberalism, but has very little to say about conservatism in the South. He sees small connection between "race feeling" and the Negro's economic status, and points out the decrease in race riots up to 1921; the increase in lynching after 1929 he does not touch upon. One and one-half pages are devoted to the South as "A Playground of the Nation"; one-half of a page to a gingerly treatment of peonage. The author is, however, critical of the way in which the industrialization of the South has worked out in practice. As a guide his book suffers from the total absence of economic maps. P. L.

Delaware Notes, Eighth series, 1934, embodies articles which have special reference to the Centenary of the University of Delaware, commemorated with appropriate ceremonies on May 11, 12, and 13. Two are contributed by Professor G. H. Ryden, The Founding of the University of Delaware and Suspension of Delaware College. Three others refer to life in the institution at various periods: Student Life at Delaware, 1834–1859, by H. Clay Reed; Sunny Days at Dear Old Delaware, by George Morgan; and Memories of Delaware, by Professor George A. Harter.

The December *Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library is made up of a Check-List of Virginia State Publications for 1930 and 1931. In certain cases publications are included which were not printed at state expense, although issued by institutions controlled by the state. The compilers are Wilmer H. Hall, assistant state librarian, and Frances John, document clerk.

With the publication of *The Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia, 1677–1793,* transcribed, annotated, and indexed by C. G. Chamberlayne (Richmond, the Library Board, 1933, pp. xv, 429, $5.00), which is the fifteenth parish record of colonial Virginia to be printed, the scholar has readily accessible all the original church record books known to be extant for the lower peninsula between the York and Rappahannock rivers, from 1650 to the close of the Revolution. Intermingled with the routine duties of the vestry are the minutes of casual incidents and special events that tantalize the reader with their brevity and afford a glimpse, only too fragmentary, of the social life of the period. The erection of the new church at Poplar Spring and repairs on the old building, the furnishings ordered from England, the purchase of the organ and the training for organist of a "fit person in the Mistory of the Said Musick", the care of the poor, the examination and count of tobacco plants to improve the staple—such subjects indicate the variety of questions that engaged the vestry. This carefully edited volume and, indeed, the others published hitherto are rendered more usable by the map prepared by the Rev. A. LeB. Ribble, showing parish lines and colonial churches between the James and the Rappahannock and

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from Caroline and Hanover counties southeast to James City and York counties. The present volume contains a helpful introduction, an appendix with notes on the clergymen, clerks, and physicians of Petsworth Parish, and three indexes—of persons, geographical, and topical. L. J. C.

Articles: Herman Clarence Nixon, *The South in Our Times* (Agricultural Hist., Apr.); George C. Keidel, *Early Maryland Newspapers* (Maryland Hist. Mag., Mar.); H. R. Marraro, *Philip Mazzei, Virginia's Agent in Europe* (Bull. New York Public Library, Mar., Apr.); C. Herbert Laub, *The Problem of Armed Invasion of the Northwest during the American Revolution* [concl.] (Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Apr.); Edgar Erskine Hume, *The Virginia Society of the Cincinnati's Gift to Washington College* (*ibid.*); Minnie G. Cook, *Governor Samuel Mathews, Junior* (William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag., Apr.); Bryan Conrad, *Lafayette and Cornwallis in Virginia, 1781* (*ibid.*); Josiah Moffatt, *The Scotch Irish of the Up-Country* (South Atlantic Quar., Apr.); Daniel J. Whitener, *North Carolina Prohibition Election of 1881 and its Aftermath* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Apr.); Peter S. McGuire, *The Seaboard Air Line* (*ibid.*); Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Located Georgia Imprints of the Eighteenth Century not in the De Renne Catalogue* (Georgia Hist. Quar., Mar.); Peter S. McGuire, *Athens and the Railroads: the Georgia and the Northeastern* [I.] (*ibid.*); Joseph B. Lockey, *The Florida Intrigues of José Alvarez de Toledo* (Florida Hist. Soc. Quar., Apr.); Amelia Williams, *A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of its Defenders* [V.] (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Apr.); Paul J. Foik, *Early Plans for the German Catholic Colonization of Texas* (Mid-America, Apr.).

Documents: A. R. Newsome, ed., *Records of Emigrants from England and Scotland to North Carolina, 1774–1775* [II.] (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Apr.); Mabel L. Webber, ed., *The Thomas Fife Account Book, 1768–1775,* [cont'd] (South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Apr.); A. S. Salley, ed., *Order Book of Colonel Peter Horry* (September-October, 1781) [cont'd] (*ibid.*) J. Fair Hardin and Phanor Breazeale, eds., *A Young Lawyer of Natchitoches of 1836: the Diary of William S. Toumey* (Louisiana Hist. Quar., Jan., Apr.); John S. Kendall, ed., *Documents concerning the West Florida Revolution, 1810* (*ibid.*); Henry P. Dart, *Marriage Contracts of French Colonial Louisiana* (*ibid.*, Apr.); Heloise H. Cruzat, ed., *Marriage contract between Pierre Lemoine d'Iberville and Marie Therese Pollet de La Combe* (*ibid.*).

WESTERN STATES

The Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Columbia, Missouri, on April 26, 27, and 28. The experiment was made of concentrating attention upon phases of the Westward Movement before 1860. One of the most stimulating sessions had as

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its subject The Religious Elements on the Frontier. Two of the papers were general in their scope: Eastern Missionary Effort in the Pioneer West, by Lucy Simmons, and Early Religious Efforts in the Lower Mississippi Valley, by V. Alton Moody. The Immigrant Church and the Granges of Industry was discussed by O. Fritiof Ander, and George Duffield, Preacher, Public Official, and Civic Leader in Michigan, 1838–1868, was described in a paper by L. G. Vander Velde. In the discussion Professor W. W. Sweet was especially convincing in his explanation of the spectacular gains in membership of the Baptists and Methodists, emphasizing their form of organization. The depression was not forgotten, and Debtors' Relief after the Panic of 1819 was commented on by W. J. Hamilton, while Weathering a Panic in Missouri, 1819–1822, was the subject of Hattie M. Anderson. In this session also a later panic, that of 1873, accounted for another subject, Western Attitude toward National Banks, 1873–1874, which was dealt with by George L. Anderson. There was also a session on migrations, Westward Migrations to the Mississippi, by William J. Petersen, and Migrations beyond the Mississippi, by LeRoy R. Hafen. Several interesting personages formed the theme of the session on the Biography of the Frontier. The Presidential Address was delivered by Professor Jonas Viles, with the subject Sections and Sectionalism in a Border State. The State Historical Society of Missouri gave the association a dinner. The president chosen for the coming year is Professor L. B. Shippee, and the new members of the executive committee are Alfred P. James, F. L. Owsley, and J. G. Randall. Dr. S. J. Buck was reëlected chairman of the Alvord Memorial Commission.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for April continues the record of the archæological survey of the state undertaken in 1926. This number, prepared by Glenn A. Black, deals with Dearborn and Ohio counties, and gives the results of the excavations of Burkam Stone Mounds, numbers 1 and 2. It is illustrated with 6 figures and 32 plates.

The Thirty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, which took place in Springfield on May 10–11, was the occasion for the presentation of a number of papers of more than local interest. In the society's annual address Professor James A. James, of Northwestern University, speaking on the subject, Oliver Pollock and the Winning of the Illinois Country, threw new light on the operations of the New Orleans merchant whose financial help was indispensable in the Revolution in the West. Taking Albert Taylor Bledsoe, Critic of Lincoln, for his subject, Dean Harry E. Pratt, of Blackburn College, presented for the first time a full-length account of this erratic Southern genius. Dr. Benjamin P. Thomas, secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, made available new data on Lincoln's life in New Salem, the pioneer village which the State of Illinois has just restored to its original appearance. Other papers dealt with General James D. Henry and the Black

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Hawk War, Bishop Philander Chase and Jubilee College, and the Historic American Buildings Survey in Illinois. The successful inauguration of a program of historical marking was also reported at the meeting of the society. The committee in charge announced that the first markers would be in place by June 1, and that in all probability fifty markers would be in position before the end of the year. The markers, made of cast aluminum, are being erected along the extensive hard road system of Illinois. P. M. A.

The Abraham Lincoln Association has published the papers presented at the Springfield meeting of February, 1933, with an introduction by Logan Hay, president of the association. The two papers were: The Spiritual Life of Lincoln, an Interpretation, by Dr. Joseph Fort Newton, and Lincoln and the Courts, 1854–1861, by Benjamin P. Thomas, executive secretary of the association.

The January number of *The University of Missouri Studies* contains an Introduction to a Survey of Missouri Place-Names. The chapters on Inception and Progress of the Survey and on Directions for Students of Missouri Place-Names are by Professor Robert L. Ramsay, of the University of Missouri. They are followed by a Bibliography of Library Sources for the Study of the Place-Names of Missouri, compiled by Mr. Allen Walker Read, research assistant, Historical Dictionary of American English, University of Chicago, and this by The Place-Names of Pike County, Missouri, prepared by Esther Gladys Leech, Trenton Junior College.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has issued as nos. 4 and 6 in its Monograph series: *Invalidation of Municipal Ordinances by the Supreme Court of Iowa*, by Ethan P. Allen, and *Some Aspects of the Financial Administration of Johnson County*, by Francis O. Wilcox. The former has in part the practical purpose of assisting officials, for example, city councilmen in understanding the limitations of their legal authority. It is provided with a list of cases cited as well as an index. The second describes the way in which the financial problems of a typical county, with no large urban population, have been handled. Johnson County is unique, however, in that the State University is located in Iowa City, and thus within its borders.

Stanley Vestal has added another to his studies of Indian life in a volume entitled *Warpath: the True Story of the Fighting Sioux told in a Biography of Chief White Bull* (Houghton Mifflin, 1934, pp. xv, 291, $3.00). It is really an autobiography, for its source is the tales of the aged Indian. These have a sounder basis than an old warrior's imagination, for the author tells us that Chief White Bull learned to write his own language soon after his surrender in 1876 and compiled a written record of all the fights in which he or other chiefs living then had taken part. Wherever possible the author has checked the tales with military reports. Although historical fact lies at

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its base the story possesses all the flavor of a highly imaginative tale of adventure.

The July (1933) issue of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* prints, under the title Pioneering in North Dakota, two letters by Charles H. Hobart, announced as the first of a series of reminiscent sketches. Unfortunately, in consequence of the failure of the legislature to appropriate necessary funds, the *Quarterly* has been compelled temporarily to suspend publication.

The study of place-names even in the youngest of the states makes its contribution to history, as Dr. Charles N. Gould shows in *Oklahoma Place Names* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1933, pp. 146, $1.00). This is particularly the case with the French and Spanish names, though few in number, which are found in the state. The French names reveal the progress of the traders who ascended the Arkansas and the Red rivers in the early part of the eighteenth century. The Spaniards came in from the west, after finding their way north along the base of the Rockies. There they reached the headwaters of streams which they followed down into what is now Oklahoma. Certain of the French names have undergone strange transformations. When the traders came upon a creek in a prairie country they named it *Sans Bois,* and this name has been extended to the wooded mountains from which the stream flows. An early English-speaking traveler thought the name was Sambo Creek. Darden Creek is now called Dirty Creek, the name being first corrupted to Durdy. The bulk of the names in the state are Indian or English. A good index makes this little book very useful.

The June issue of the *Pacific Historical Review* is devoted to the Proceedings of the December Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, and includes also the following papers presented on that occasion: The Graduate Seminar in History (Presidential Address), by Charles E. Chapman; The Dual Mandate in British East Africa, by A. C. Cooke; The Principles and Organization of British Native Rule in Tropical Africa, by T. Walter Wallbank; The British Commonwealth and the Collective System, by W. N. Sage; The Duke of Newcastle, Ecclesiastical Minister, 1724–1754, by Donald G. Barnes; Odessa: its Rise and International Importance, 1820–1850, by Vernon Puryear; and The Reform Bill of 1867 and the British Party System, by Francis H. Herrick.

Articles: Charles T. Leavitt, *Transportation and the Live Stock Industry of the Middle West to 1860* (Agricultural Hist., Jan.); Harry J. Carman, *English Views of Middle Western Agriculture, 1850–1870* (*ibid.*); Samuel L. Wilson, *Shawnee Warriors at the Blue Licks* (Reg. Kentucky State Hist. Soc., Apr.); R. Gerald McMurtry, *James Buchanan in Kentucky, 1813* (Filson Club Hist. Quar., Apr.); Sister Mary Celeste, *The Miami Indians prior to 1700* (Mid-America, Apr.); James A. James, *The Northwest: Gift or Con-*

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quest? (Indiana Mag. Hist., Mar.); James A. Woodburn, *United Presbyterian Beginnings* (*ibid.*); Stanley Faye, *Joliet goes West* (Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc., Apr.); R. Gerald McMurtry, *The Different Editions of the "Debates of Lincoln and Douglas"* (*ibid.*); Ruby J. Swartzlow, *The Early History of Lead Mining in Missouri* [I.] (Missouri Hist. Rev., Apr.); Donald W. Brookman, *Prison Labor in Iowa* (Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol., Apr.); Michigan Historical Commission, *Twenty-First Annual Report, 1933* (Michigan Hist. Mag., spring); Harry B. Ebersole, *Early French Explorations in the Lake Superior Region* (*ibid.*); Lansing B. Swan, *Seeing Michigan in 1841: Pioneer Journal of a Trip to Michigan* (*ibid.*); Louise Phelps Kellogg, *David Starr Jordan in Wisconsin* (Wisconsin Mag. Hist., Mar.); James L. Sellers, *James R. Doolittle* [chs. II.–IV.] (*ibid.*); Joseph H. Grant, *Old Fort Snelling* (Quartermaster Rev., Mar.); Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Printing Press moves Westward* (Minnesota Hist., Mar.); Waldo R. Wedel, *Medicine Valley Archaeology* (Nebraska Hist. Mag., July, 1933; printed April, 1934); Rafael Chacon, *Campaign against Utes and Apaches in Southern Colorado, 1855* (Colorado Mag., May); John H. Nankivell, *Fort Crawford, Colorado, 1880–1890* (*ibid.*); Frederick Merk, *Snake Country Expedition, 1824–25: an Episode of Fur Trade and Empire* (Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev., June); Paul Knaplund, *Gladstone and the Red River Rebellion* (*ibid.*); Harold E. Briggs, *Grasshopper Plagues and Early Dakota Agriculture* (Agricultural Hist., Apr.); B. Z. Woods, *History of Fort Larned* (The Aerend, winter); José Manuel Espinosa, *The Legend of Sierra Azul* (New Mexico Hist. Rev., Apr.); Henry R. Wagner, *Fray Marcos de Niza* (*ibid.*); Lawrence A. McNary, *Route of Meek Cut-Off, 1845* (Oregon Hist. Quar., Mar.); Edmond S. Meany, *Henry Villard's Aid to Education* (Washington Hist. Quar., Apr.); Neil H. Purvis, *History of the Lake Washington Canal* (*ibid.*); Charles W. Smith, *Co-ordination in the Collection of Source Material: a New Deal in Documents* (*ibid.*).

Documents: Frederick Merk, ed., *The Snake Country Expedition Correspondence, 1824–25* (Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev., June); Mrs. Sidney Woodward Ennor, ed., *Diary of Thomas Woodward while crossing the Plains of California in 1850* (Wisconsin Mag. Hist., Mar.); William Stanley Hoole, ed., *A Southerner's Viewpoint of the Kansas Situation, 1856–1857: Letters of Lieut.-Col. A. J. Hoole, C. S. A.* (Kansas Hist. Quar., Feb.); Nellie B. Pipes, ed., *Journal of John H. Frost, 1840–1843* (Oregon Hist. Quar., Mar.).

CANADA

The *Report* of the Public Archives of the Dominion of Canada for the Year 1933, by Mr. Arthur G. Doughty, keeper of the records, contains two appendixes, the first giving a selection of constitutional documents for the years 1818–1822, which illustrate the struggle for financial control and the

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gradual definition of the several governmental spheres, the second, a Calendar of State Papers, addressed by Secretaries of State for the Colonies to the Lieutenant Governors or Officers administering the Province of Upper Canada, 1796–1810.

The Public Library of Toronto, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of its incorporation, will issue, in a limited edition, a bibliography of the works on Canada published prior to the Confederation of the Provinces in 1867 (about 400 pp., with 3500 items, $5.00).

The volume of essays on the history of Annapolis County, Nova Scotia, which takes its title *Gravestones of Acadie* from the first essay, includes a brief chapter on Data concerning the "Mayflower" and Descendants in Nova Scotia and the Report of Nicolas Denys, Governor of Acadie in 1660. The report is reproduced in photographs and is accompanied by a translation. The author of this handsome volume is William Inglis Morse.

Articles: Paul W. Gates, *Official Encouragement to Immigration by the Province of Canada* (Canadian Hist. Rev., Mar.); Frank G. Roe, *The Extermination of the Buffalo in Western Canada* (*ibid.*); Marius Barbeau, *French Settlement on the St. Lawrence* (Dalhousie Rev., Apr.); H. Moody, *Political Experiences in Nova Scotia, 1867–1869* (*ibid.*); Andrew Macphail, *Conservative-Liberal-Socialist* (University of Toronto Quar., Apr.).

Documents: J. B. Tyrrell, ed., *David Thompson and the Rocky Mountains* (Canadian Hist. Rev., Mar.); D. C. Harvey, ed., *Incidents of the Repeal Agitation in Nova Scotia* (*ibid.*).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

As one of the series sponsored by the Harvard Council on Hispanic-American Studies, Alfred Coester has published *A Tentative Bibliography of the Belles-Lettres of the Argentine Republic* (Harvard University Press, 1933).

Rafael Helidoro Valle has just issued a *Bibliografía de Don José Cecilio del Valle* (Mexico, Ediciones de Número, 1934).

Vol. XIV. of the *Archivo del General Miranda* has appeared. It contains documents concerning his picturesque career from 1792 to 1801.

Mario Belgrano has published two monographs utilizing archival material which deal with the foreign relations of modern Argentina during the struggle for liberation from Spanish rule: *Rivadavia y sus gestiones diplomáticas con España* (*1815–1820*); and *La Francia y la monarquía en el Plata* (Buenos Aires, G. García Santos, 1933; 1934).

A survey of inter-American relations with special attention to Pan-Americanism, the Monroe Doctrine, and Wilson's "creed" is furnished by

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Enrique Gil, in his *Evolución del Panamericanismo: El credo de Wilson y el Panamericanismo* (Buenos Aires, Menéndez, 1933).

Education in Latin America (American Book Company, 1934), by Henry L. Smith and Harold Littell, contains a survey of education in Central America, South America, and the West Indies.

Nos. 58 and 59 of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* of Venezuela contains installments of indexes of documents in Venezuelan archives concerning the Guipúzcoan Company, the consulate of Caracas, the intendancy of Venezuela, and indexes of royal orders and regulations.

No. 5 of the *Boletín de la Academia Panameña* publishes the last installment of La personalidad internacional de Panamá by P. A. Vásquez Hernández.

No. 33 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (pp. xxxiii, 292) is specially marked by a study of Brazilian Jewish History, 1623–1654, in which Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom brings together into one connected narrative and exposition the data gathered by the late Samuel Oppenheim, and other data, in a most useful manner. The other chief contribution is a bibliographical survey of the Hebrew Periodical Press in America, 1871–1931, most carefully composed, by Miss Fannie M. Brody. Mr. Edward D. Coleman gives a survey of Plays of Jewish Interest on the American Stage, 1752–1821.

The American Geographical Society announces the publication of a *Map of Hispanic America* on the scale of 1:1,000,000, in 102 sheets. These sheets if placed together would measure 34 by 28 feet. Certain of the sheets have already been in use, the section covering the Tacna-Arica region, for example, in the work of the boundary commission under General Pershing. This map, together with the *Catalogue of Maps of Hispanic America,* published in four volumes last year, is an outstanding contribution to the scientific study of the lands of our neighbors.

Articles: R. Villagarcía Dasol, *Breves notas de literatura venezolana: La historia en el siglo XIX* (Estudios, Apr.); Harry F. Guggenheim, *Amending the Platt Amendment* (Foreign Affairs, Apr.); Louis le Fur, *L'affaire de Leiticia* (Rev. Gén. Droit. Int., Mar.); Chester Lloyd Jones, *Loan Controls in the Caribbean* (Hispan. Am. Rev., May); Watt Stewart, *The Diplomatic Service of John M. Forbes at Buenos Aires* (*ibid.*); Julius W. Pratt, *American Business and the Spanish-American War* (*ibid.*); George W. Hendry, *Source Literature of Early Plant Introduction into Spanish America* (Agricultural Hist., Apr.).

Documents: *La guerra de independencia en la provincia de Cumaná* (Boletín de la academia nacional de historia, Jan.).

W. S. R.

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PERSONAL

As the *Review* was going to press the news came of the death on June 8 of another distinguished scholar, long a member of the Association, Professor Fred Morrow Fling, of the University of Nebraska. Professor Fling was born in 1860, was graduated from Bowdoin College in the class of 1883, and in 1890 took his doctor's degree at the University of Leipzig. His dissertation on Mirabeau was prophetic of his principal field of interest as a student and a writer, the French Revolution. His work as a teacher was at the University of Nebraska, beginning in 1890 and closing only with his death. He was interested in the problems of teaching as well as in the tasks of research. He founded the Association of Nebraska History Teachers and did much to promote the use of the source method in the secondary schools. In 1907 he published *A Source Book of Greek History*. He also published *Source Problems on the French Revolution for the Use of College Classes*. As a writer his most notable contribution was a biography of Mirabeau, of which the first volume, with the subtitle, *The Youth of Mirabeau,* was published in 1908. The other two volumes were ready for publication at the time of his death. He was also interested in the history of civilization and had long been collecting materials for a work on that subject. The philosophy of history was still another interest. In 1920 a suggestive little book on *The Writing of History* appeared.

Contributions to this section have been made by Paul M. Angle, F. B. Artz, S. F. Bemis, G. C. Boyce, J. P. Boyd, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, L. J. Cappon, E. N. Curtis, W. H. Laprade, Paul Lewinson, A. H. Lybyer, W. H. Roberts, W. S. Robertson, George Vernadsky, A. T. Volwiler, and Carl Wittke.

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☞ *The names of contributors of articles or of reviews are printed in small capitals. The titles of articles are in italics, of reviews, within quotation marks. Abbreviated titles are used in cross references, books being mentioned only in the field of their chief interest. Where a contributor appears as author and reviewer (A) and (R) are used.*

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